# CLAUSE COMBINING IN
# ANCIENT GREEK NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

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MICHEL BUIJS


# CLAUSE COMBINING IN ANCIENT GREEK NARRATIVE DISCOURSE


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# CLAUSE COMBINING IN ANCIENT GREEK NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

## THE DISTRIBUTION OF SUBCLAUSES AND PARTICIPIAL CLAUSES IN XENOPHON'S *HELLENICA* AND *ANABASIS*

BY

MICHEL BUIJS

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CONTENTS


Preface ........................................................................ ix

Chapter One Introduction ........................................................ 1
1 Status Quaestionis ............................................................ 1
1.1 'Temporal' Subclauses and Verbal Aspect ..................................... 3
1.2 Conclusion .................................................................. 9
2 Analysis of Ancient Greek Narrative Discourse ................................. 9
2.1 The Nature of Narrative Discourse ........................................... 9
2.1.1 Temporal Relations ........................................................ 11
2.2 Factors Operating on the Choice among Alternative Expressions .............. 13
2.2.1 Presentation of Real World Relations ...................................... 13
2.2.2 Text Articulation ......................................................... 15
2.2.3 Information Processing .................................................... 17
3 Aims .......................................................................... 21

Chapter Two Six Near-minimal Pairs ............................................. 24
Introduction .................................................................... 24
1 NMP 1: *Hellenica* 4.3.20-21 vs. *Agesilaus* 2.15 ............................. 24
2 NMP 2: *Anabasis* 6.2.13-15 vs. *Hellenica* 2.4.10-11 ......................... 38
3 NMP 3: *Hellenica* 3.4.15-16 vs. *Agesilaus* 1.19-25 .......................... 43
4 NMP 4: *Agesilaus* 1.38-2.2 vs. *Hellenica* 4.2.4-8 & 4.3.1-4 ................. 53
5 NMP 5: *Anabasis* 7.3.23-26 vs. *Cyropaedia* 8.4.12-13 ........................ 62
6 NMP 6: *Cyropaedia* 5.4.43-50 vs. *Hellenica* 3.4.9-10 (& *Cyropaedia* 1.4.19-20, *Anabasis* 2.5.15-24, *Anabasis* 6.3.11-15, and *Hellenica* 3.2.25-26) ........ 72
7 Conclusion .................................................................... 84

Chapter Three Presentation of Real World Relations ............................. 85
Introduction .................................................................... 85
1 Subclauses Headed by a Semantically Specific Relator .......................... 85
1.1 'Causal' Relations .......................................................... 85

1.2 Temporal Relations .................................................. 89
1.3 Conclusion ............................................................. 111
2 Subclauses Headed by a Semantically Non-specific Relator ............................................................. 112
3 Participial Clauses Headed by a Relator ............................ 129
4 Conclusion ................................................................. 134

Chapter Four Real World Construction and Text Articulation: Preposed Subordinate Clauses and Discourse Segmentation .................................. 137
Introduction ................................................................... 137
1 Real World Construction .................................................. 137
2 Text Articulation and Segmentation .................................. 138
2.1 Segmentation in the Story of Mania (*Hellenica* 3.1.10-16) .................................................. 140
3 Form and Function of Subordinate Clauses ........................ 148
3.1 Desententialization ...................................................... 149
3.2 (Dis-)Continuity and Linguistic Coding ........................ 153
4 (Dis-)Continuity at Points of Segmentation ........................ 155
4.1 Thematic Coherence .................................................. 159
4.2 The Articulation of Thematic Units ............................ 163
4.2.1 Temporal Discontinuity.................................. 169
4.2.2 Spatial Discontinuity....................................... 171
4.2.3 Referential Discontinuity................................. 177
4.3 Thematic Continuity.................................................. 178
4.3.1 The Genitive Absolute...................................... 179
4.3.2 The Conjunct Participle .................................. 187
4.3.3 Special Cases of Thematic Continuity.............. 196
5 Conclusion ................................................................. 198

Chapter Five Clause Combining and Information Processing ......................................................... 201
Introduction ................................................................... 201
1 Postposed Embedded Predications .................................... 201
1.1 Postposed 'Causal' ἐπεί/ἐπειδή-clauses ...................... 204
1.2 Postposed 'Causal' Participial Clauses ........................ 214
1.3 Summary and Conclusion .......................................... 220
2 Genitive Absolute Constructions vs. Conjunct Participles .. 221
2.1 The 'Regular' Conjunct Participle .............................. 223

2.2 The 'Irregular' Genitive Absolute Construction .......... 226
2.2.1 Text Grammar vs. Sentence Grammar: Schwyzer (1942) .......... 233
2.3 Summary and Conclusion .......... 252

Chapter Six Conclusion .......... 254

Bibliography .......... 261

Index of Linguistic Terms .......... 269
General Index .......... 273
Index Locorum .......... 275

# PREFACE

Although the subject of this book, the difference between the choice of a certain subclause and a participial clause, be it a predicative conjunct participial clause or a genitive absolute construction, is usually addressed in grammars on Ancient Greek, a systematic treatment is surprisingly lacking. While the discourse-analytic description of the different clause types—which focuses on how relations are coded by means of subordinating conjunctions, the differences in form and function as discourse boundary markers between preposed, sentence-initially placed subclauses and participles, and between clause types with respect to the information flow in on-going discourse—confines itself to the historiographic narrative prose of Xenophon, it does not follow that its findings cannot, *mutatis mutandis*, be expanded to other authors of the genre within the classical period. By both this feature and the fact that I have provided translations of the passages discussed, the book aims to be relevant to all those interested in Greek language description and Discourse Analysis, as well as classical philologists working on Xenophon and Greek historians in general.

Quotations from Xenophon's works are based on E.C. Marchant's Oxford Classical Text, but the Teubner edition of the *Hellenica* by C. Hude and the of the *Anabasis* by C. Hude and J. Peters, which offer a more extensive *apparatus criticus*, have been checked throughout.

The work on this book has been made possible by Leiden University, who offered me a position as research assistant in order to write a Ph.D. thesis, which was, finally, successfully defended in may 2003. Regrettably, my supervisor during the project, Sicking (a man so outstanding in his wide field of expertise that whenever I ask myself questions on anything pertaining to the Ancient Greek language I think 'what would Sicking have said?'), did not live to see the project finished. I can only hope this has become a book of which he would have approved.

Fortunately, his successor to the chair of Ancient Greek at Leiden University, Professor Ineke Sluiter, so stimulatingly and skillfully helped me through the final stages of my work, that the result has benefitted considerably from her contributions. I am deeply indebted to her for her able guidance and motivation.

I am also grateful to Professor Egbert Bakker, Dr. Tijn Cuypers, Professor Albert Rijksbaron, the late Professor Siem Slings and Dr. Peter Stork for their kind acceptance to serve as the members on the examination committee.

Many colleagues, at Leiden University, Utrecht University and elsewhere, supported me during the years I worked on this project. I would like to acknowledge my gratitude to them as friends. Special mention deserve Dr. Ilja Leonard Pfeijffer for his stimulating sarcasm, and Dr. Adriaan Rademaker for his warmth, friendliness and his moral support throughout.

I would also like to express my sincere thanks to my parents, who financially supported (or, as we would call it euphemistically, 'sponsored') my education for decades, and for their understanding.

Most of all, I wish to thank Susannah Herman, who not only never got tired of correcting my bad English (which means that if there is any offence against English grammar or vocabulary in this book, it is definitely due to my own stubbornness), but also helped me through various final stages of writing this book. Thank you for being a beautiful friend to me in the many ways that you are.

Michel Buijs
Leiden, November 2004

CHAPTER ONE

# INTRODUCTION

This book is about clause types. Its main goal is to enhance our understanding of the distribution of subclauses and participial clauses in Ancient Greek narrative discourse from a functional perspective, to the interest of classicists and general linguists alike. It aims at clarifying the factors that, consciously or subconsciously, may have led a native speaker in his choice between these clause types.

For a fairly long time, the study of linguistic phenomena has been hampered by the fact that it took the sentence as its object. There are linguistic features that can be understood better, if not only so, if their contribution to the constitution of pieces of discourse longer than a sentence is rated at its true value. The description of Ancient Greek has suffered from the traditional attitude of approaching linguistic phenomena on the sentence-level. This is due to the authority of the standard grammars that are still widely in use (Kühner & Gerth; Schwyzer & Debrunner; Goodwin; Smyth; Bornemann & Risch; Gildersleeve; Humbert), all of which were written in a period in which the approach that might be labelled as text grammar had not yet been developed. Judging from the increasing amount of studies on Ancient Greek published over roughly the last thirty years that describe linguistic phenomena in context and investigate the relation between grammar and discourse, discourse analysis is beginning to find its place in the description of the Ancient Greek language.

In this book it will be demonstrated that understanding the distribution of participial clauses on the one hand, and subclauses (in particular ἐπεί-, ἐπειδή-, and ὡς-clauses) on the other, requires an approach in which the sentence-boundaries are crossed.

## 1 *Status Quaestionis*

In clause combining, participial clauses and subclauses are syntactically dependent clauses: they are both embedded predications

(often called 'adverbial clauses').[1] The clause on which they are dependent may be (part of) a main clause or another embedded predication. Therefore, the superordinate clause is most conveniently referred to as *matrix clause*.

Although both conjunct and absolute participial clauses may share certain syntactic characteristics of subclauses, their formal characteristics are different. Nonetheless, participial clauses and subclauses are usually regarded as 'alternatives'.[2] In order to explain their coexistence in Ancient Greek, the notion of 'emphasis' has often been used. Typical is Kühner–Gerth (1904, 78): "Statt der Partizipialkonstruktion können auch im Griechischen entweder des grösseren Nachdruckes oder auch der Deutlichkeit wegen Nebensätze gebraucht werden".

Unfortunately, those grammars that make use of the notion 'emphasis' fail to give an account of what it means exactly. Emphasis may be attributed to that word or phrase which is supposed to be more *important* or *salient* from an informational point of view than other words or phrases in the surrounding context. But since no criteria are supplied on the basis of which the presumed emphasizing function may be attributed to one of the alternative expressions, it will be clear that descriptions in terms of emphasis are gratuitous.

Although is self-evident that a genitive absolute is more detached from the syntactical structure of its matrix clause than a conjunct participle, little attention has been paid to genitive absolute constructions and subclauses as alternative expressions.[3]

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[1] The term 'participial clauses' covers the grammatical class that is constituted by predicative conjunct participial clauses and genitive absolute constructions. Relative clauses, attributive participles and participles with the article are outside the scope of this study.

[2] This kind of approach is not confined to Ancient Greek. Cf. e.g. Stump in a study on free adjuncts and absolutes in English (1985: 4): "a free adjunct is a nonfinite predicative phrase with the function of an adverbial subordinate clause".

[3] Berent (1973), in an article on the historical development of subordination in Indo-European languages, states that absolute constructions bear the same semantic relations to their matrix clause as subclauses, and that absolute constructions and subclauses, despite their formal difference, are functionally identical. He assumes four chronological layers of Indo-European subordination of clauses, in the course of which the absolute construction loses its position in favor of the subclause. Classical Greek, where absolute constructions and subclauses occur next to one another, would be located in a 'transitory period'. Regrettably, Berent pays no attention to the question how they relate in such a situation. Questions regarding the much-disputed origin of the genitive absolute construction are outside the scope of the present study.

When scholars address the distribution of genitive absolute constructions and subclauses, they often inform us of how to *translate* them; cf. Schwyzer–Debrunner (1950: 397): "Wie z.B. im Arischen, erscheinen auch im Griechischen vom Beginn der Überlieferung an sog. absolute Partizipialkonstruktionen, d.h. aus Substantiv + Ptz. bestehende Fügungen, die dem übrigen Teil des Satzes selbständig gegenüberstehen (für die geläufige Übersetzungsweise im Wert eines Nebensatzes)". Or the genitive absolute is said to be the equivalent of a subclause: Bornemann–Risch (1973: 245): "Weil auch der Gen.abs. eine Nebenhandlung zum übergeordneten Prädikat ausdrückt, entspricht seine Übersetzung der eines Ptc.coni.; daher sind beide in dem §246 parallel behandelt, obwohl der (zweigliedrige) Gen.abs. als eine Konstruktion (ein "Syntagma") mit eigenem Subjekt vom Griechischen aus gesehen, in höherem Maße satzwertig (Äquivalent eines Nebensatzes) ist".

It is, however, the function of embedded predications within a larger stretch of discourse that is to be discussed. The questions to be raised are: "what would be the *functional* difference between the alleged alternatives?", and "what factors influence the author's choice between them?". The relevance of these questions resides in the fact that our grammars have raised the issue but have not provided a satisfactory answer. To answer these questions, we have to look in a different direction: it is the hypothesis of this book that discourse analysis and a text grammar-oriented approach will yield better results in describing the usage of subclauses and participial clauses, in that it can map more factors that underlie the distribution, and can explain a greater number of instances more satisfactorily than can be done on the basis of sentence-grammar.

## 1.1 *'Temporal' Subclauses and Verbal Aspect*

Grammars and reference books distinguish a particular class of subclauses, *viz.*, temporal subclauses. They seem to be easily distinguished from other types of subclauses by virtue of the meaning of their conjunction. Thus, Kühner-Gerth (1898-1904: II 445) divide the grammatical class of temporal subclauses (Adverbialsätze der

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For a recent discussion of this issue, and of ancient views on the construction, see Vasilaros (1993: 21-37).

Zeitbeziehung) into three categories, according to their subordinator: *a)* subclauses indicating simultaneity between the subclause and the main clause[4] ("bei der Angabe der Gleichzeitigkeit mit dem Hauptsatze"); *b)* subclauses indicating anteriority of the subclause with respect to the main clause[5] ("bei der Angabe des dem im Hauptsatze Ausgesagten Vorangehenden"); and *c)* subclauses indicating posteriority of the subclause with respect to the main clause[6] ("bei der Angabe des dem im Hauptsatze Ausgesagten Nachfolgenden").

This classification is applicable to a great number of cases; in some cases, however, it is not without problems. It is well-known that in a certain language some subordinators may be semantically more specific than others. Thus in English, the subordinator *when* may be used to indicate all kinds of non-specific (temporal) relations between the content of a subclause and its matrix clause while specific subordinators are available (*e.g.*, *before*, *after*, *while*, *as*, *till.*; see Givón, 1990: 828). It is not *a priori* excluded that among the many subordinators the Ancient Greek speaker has at his disposal, some are semantically specific and others are not. In this connection it is to be noted that ὅτε, ἡνίκα, and ἐν ᾧ, to name but a few, are always indicators of a *temporal* relationship between the subclause and the main clause, whereas ἐπεί, ἐπειδή, and ὡς are reported to indicate sometimes a temporal, sometimes a causal relation,[7] which would make them semantically non-specific subordinators.[8]

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[4] They list subclauses headed by: ὅτε; εὖτε; ὁπότε; ὡς, ὥσπερ; ὅπως, ὅκως; ὅπου; ἡνίκα, ὁπηνίκα; ὁσάκις, ὁσσάκι, ὁποσάκις; ἦμος; ὄφρα, ὄφρα; μέχρι, ἄχρι; ἔστε; ἕως, τέως, ἐν ᾧ.

[5] ἐπεί, ἐπειή, ἐπείτε, ἐπειδή; ἐξ οὗ, ἐξ ὅτου, ἀφ' οὗ, ἐξ ὧν; ὡς/ἐπεὶ τάχιστα, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα.

[6] πρίν, πρίν ἤ, πρίν...πρίν, πρότερον...πρίν, πρόσθεν...πρίν, πρότερον ἤ, πρὶν ὅτε, πάρος; ἕως, ἕως οὗ, ὄφρα, ὄφρα, ἔστε, μέχρι, ἄχρι, μέχρι οὗ, ἄχρι οὗ, ἐς ὅ, ἐς οὗ, εἰς ὅτε κεν *c. conj.*

[7] Rijksbaron (1994[2]: 83 n.3) observes that 'temporal' clauses with ἐπεί , ὡς, etc. + imperfect or aorist indicative may also have a 'causal nuance'. In instances like *Hellenica*, 7.2.19 **ὡς δὲ τὴν νύκτα ἠγρύπνησαν**, ἐκάθευδον μέχρι πόρρω τῆς ἡμέρας the relation between the proposition [they passed the night without sleep] and the proposition [they slept far into the day] does not seem to me first and foremost temporal (?*after they had passed the night without sleep, they slept far into the day*), with a causal nuance. The relator ὡς indicates *a* relation between the two propositions, and on the basis of our knowledge of the world, we interpret this relation as 'causal' (*inasmuch as they had passed the night without sleep, they slept far into the day*). The Greek, however, does not specify this relation.

[8] However, consider Ruijgh (1971: 502-503, §412), who considers ἐπεί to have a more specific value than ὅτε, inasmuch as ἐπεί would express the idea of anteriority.

It seems generally accepted that the tense/aspect of the finite verb of temporal subclauses can be used to determine the semantic relation between the subclause and the main clause. This view is not without problems. Note for instance that in English the interpretation of the relation between a *when*-clause with simple aspect and its main clause may be either simultaneous or successive (Smith, 1983: 486-487). In the case of Ancient Greek subclauses that are interpreted as temporal, the tense/aspect of the finite verb is indeed often used to determine the nature of the temporal relation.[9] If indeed ἐπεί, ἐπειδή, and ὡς belong to the category of semantically non-specific relators, we may wonder whether ἐπεί, ἐπειδή, and ὡς-clauses should ever be considered strictly temporal at all. Further, several instances in extant Greek texts reveal that the nature of the (temporal) relation between the subclause and its matrix clause is not unequivocally plain from the tense/aspect of the finite verb of the subclause (or the combination of tense/aspect of the finite verb of the subclause and a subordinating conjunction). Consider the following examples of subclauses (example [1] through [3]):

[1] *Hellenica* 3.4.25
**ὅτε** δ' αὕτη ἡ μάχη **ἐγένετο**, Τισσαφέρνης ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἔτυχεν ὤν·

**When** this battle **took place**, Tissaphernes happened to be at Sardis.

The subclause ὅτε δ' αὕτη ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο is unequivocally temporal, as is indicated by the relator ὅτε. There is no other relation in the Real World between the subordinated proposition that this battle took place and the main proposition that Tissaphernes was at Sardis than that the events presented are cotemporal; nonetheless, the finite verb of the subclause is an aorist, proving that this aspectual form when used for the finite verb of a subclause is not necessarily indicative of expressing a relation of 'anteriority'.

[9] An example of this is found in Rijksbaron (1994[2]: 74, §26 Temporal clauses): "The following types of clauses may be distinguished: (a) ἐπεί, ἐπειδή, ὅτε, ὡς + aorist indicative: the state of affairs of the dependent clause is anterior to that of the main clause: 'when', 'after'. (b) ἐπεί, ἐπειδή, ὅτε, ὡς, as well as ἕως, ἐν ᾧ + imperfect: the state of affairs of the dependent clause is simultaneous with that of the main clause: 'when'; ἕως 'so long as', ἐν ᾧ 'while'. (c) ἕως, πρίν + aorist indicative: the state of affairs of the dependent clause is posterior to that of the main clause: ἕως 'until', πρίν 'before'".

[2] *Agesilaus* 2.23
*τὰ μὲν δὴ μέχρι τούτου κοινῇ αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ πόλις ηὐτύχει· ὅσα γε μὴν μετὰ τοῦτο σφάλματα ἐγένοντο οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι ὡς Ἀγησιλάου ἡγουμένου ἐπράχθη.*

*ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ τῆς ἐν Λεύκτροις συμφορᾶς γεγενημένης **κατακαίνουσι** τοὺς ἐν Τεγέᾳ φίλους καὶ ξένους αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀντίπαλοι σὺν Μαντινεῦσι, συνεστηκότων ἤδη Βοιωτῶν τε πάντων καὶ Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἠλείων, **στρατεύει** σὺν μόνῃ ⟨τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων δυνάμει⟩, πολλῶν νομιζόντων οὐδ' ἂν ἐξελθεῖν Λακεδαιμονίους πολλοῦ χρόνου ἐκ τῆς αὐτῶν. δῃώσας δὲ τὴν χώραν τῶν κατακανόντων τοὺς φίλους οὕτως αὖ οἴκαδε ἀπεχώρησεν.*

Up to this time he and his city enjoyed unbroken success; and though many troubles occurred thereafter, it cannot be said that they were incurred under the leadership of Agesilaus.

On the other hand, after the disaster at Leuctra, **when** his adversaries in league with the Mantineans **were murdering** his friends and acquaintances in Tegea, and a coalition of all Boeotia, Arcadia and Elis had been formed, **he took the field** with the Lacedaemonian forces only, while it was generally exspected that the Lacedaemonians would not even go outside their own borders for a long time to come. He laid waste the country of those who had murdered his friends and in this way returned home once more.

The finite verb of the subclause is a present indicative, a so-called historical present. The semantic relation between the subordinated and the main proposition cannot be determined on the basis of the tense/aspect of the finite verb of the subclause; it is the context which is decisive. In order to be able to qualify **κατακαίνουσι** (and, for that matter, **στρατεύει**) as a 'historical' present,[10] we have to know with which text type we are dealing (narrative, expository). As [2] is taken from the *Agesilaus*, an encomium encompassing different text types within the same text, we have to go one step further and decide whether this passage as a whole is diegetic. In this case, it is a narrative passage,[11] and we are allowed to interpret the praesentia as

[10] The verbs are presented in the historical present to highlight the relative importance of the actions as related to the specific aims of the speaker in the encomium: they bear on Agesilaus's qualities as a human being (***κατακαίνουσι τοὺς ἐν Τεγέᾳ φίλους καὶ ξένους αὐτοῦ***) and as a general (*στρατεύει σὺν **μόνῃ ⟨τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων δυνάμει⟩***). The same events are recorded at lenghth in *Hellenica* 6.5.10-21.

[11] See Buijs, unpublished.

historical.[12] It is therefore the context rather than the verb form that guides our decision; we can only decide on the type of relation involved once we reach the matrix clause.

Whether we are dealing with a 'temporal' subclause remains undecided. In the first place, this is a matter of translation: in my opinion, the ἐπεί-clause does not provide a temporal reference in the way the ὅτε-clause in [1] does. This is brought to light by the fact that several interpretations make sense: '*while/when* his adversaries in the league with the Mantineans *were murdering* his friends and acquaintances in Tegea (...) he took the field with the Lacedaemonian forces only' (temporal simultaneity of the two propositions; thus the Loeb translation), or '*after/when* his adversaries in league with the Mantineans *had murdered* his friends and acquaintances in Tegea ... he took the field with the Lacedaemonian forces only' (temporal subsequence of the two propositions; cf. **τῶν κατακανόντων τοὺς φίλους**), or even '*because* his adversaries in league with the Mantineans *had murdered/were murdering* his friends and acquaintances in Tegea (...) he took the field <against them> with the Lacedaemonian forces only'.

Rather than focusing on an alleged specific semantic relation between the two clauses, we should pay attention to the contribution that the ἐπεί-clause makes to the text. At a point of segmentation (**δ' αὖ**), there is a break in the continuity of *participants* (new adversaries of Agesilaus are introduced), *time*, *place*, and *action*. I claim that the **ἐπεί**-clause reflects the speaker's organization of events in the depicted world in that it introduces a new stage in the development of the story-line by presenting a factual statement which the reader/hearer needs to comprehend the sequel.

That certain subclauses regardless of aspectual choice, even in narrative sequences, do not provide temporal references in themselves is further illustrated by different kinds of anaphoric expressions found at the beginning of the matrix clause, after a preposed subclause:

---

[12] Contrast *de Equitandi ratione* 1.1, which is from a non-narrative context (ἐπειδή: 'now that'/'because'): **ἐπειδὴ** διὰ τὸ συμβῆναι ἡμῖν πολὺν χρόνον ἱππεύειν **οἰόμεθα** ἔμπειροι ἱππικῆς γεγενῆσθαι, **βουλόμεθα** καὶ τοῖς νεωτέροις τῶν φίλων δηλῶσαι ᾗ ἂν νομίζομεν αὐτοὺς ὀρθότατα ἵπποις προσφέρεσθαι ('**inasmuch as we** have had a long experience of cavalry, and consequently **claim** familiarity with the art of horsemanship, **we wish** to explain to our younger friends what we believe to be the correct method of dealing with horses').

[3] *Hellenica* 7.4.23-24
***ὡς** δ' ἐπλησίασαν ἀλλήλοις, οἱ μὲν σὺν τῷ Ἀρχιδάμῳ κατὰ κέρας, ἅτε καθ' ὁδὸν πορευόμενοι, οἱ δ' Ἀρκάδες ἀθρόοι συνασπιδοῦντες, **ἐν τούτῳ** οὐκέτι ἐδύναντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντέχειν τῷ τῶν Ἀρκάδων πλήθει, ἀλλὰ ταχὺ μὲν ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος ἐτέτρωτο τὸν μηρὸν διαμπάξ, ταχὺ δὲ οἱ μαχόμενοι πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἀπέθνῃσκον, Πολυαινίδας τε καὶ Χίλων ὁ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου ἔχων, καὶ οἱ πάντες δὲ αὐτῶν τότε ἀπέθανον οὐκ ἔλαττον τῶν τριάκοντα. **ὡς** δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀναχωροῦντες εἰς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν ἐξῆλθον, **ἐνταῦθα δὴ** Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντιπαρετάξαντο.*

Now that the two forces had come near to one another, the troops of Archidamus in column, since they were marching along a road, and the Arcadians massed together in close order—**at this juncture** the Lacedaemonians were no longer able to hold out against the superior weight of the Arcadians, but Archidamus speedily received a wound straight through his thigh and speedily those who fought in front of him kept falling, among them Polyaenidas and Chilon, who was married to the sister of Archidamus; and the whole number of them who fell at that time was not less than thirty. But the Lacedaemonians as they retired along the road came out into open ground: **then and there** they formed themselves in line of battle against the enemy.

The temporal adverbial *ἐν τούτῳ* occurs at the onset of the matrix clause of the first *ὡς*-clause, but here the finite verb of the subclause is an aorist. The fact that in this situation of temporal overlap between two propositions, the finite verb of the subclause is an aorist, further illustrates that semantic relations between clauses in clause combinations should not be established on the basis of the tense/aspect of the finite verb of the subclause alone. The addition of *ἐν τούτῳ* brings to light that although the subordinated *action* may be anterior to the main action, the two *situations* should be understood as being semantically related by temporal simultaneity. I will argue that the *ὡς*-clause is used to introduce the frame of reference for a new event sequence/thematic unit at a point where there is a break in the continuity of the discourse. In this case, the discourse is discontinuous with respect to *place* (this is in part due to the meaning of the finite verb of the subclause 'to draw near to', 'approach') and *situation* in general, as expressed by the postposed participial clauses *οἱ μὲν σὺν τῷ Ἀρχιδάμῳ κατὰ κέρας, ἅτε καθ' ὁδὸν πορευόμενοι, οἱ δ' Ἀρκάδες ἀθρόοι συνασπιδοῦντες*. The second *ὡς*-clause also introduces a new situational frame of reference for the upcoming

sequence, which is spatial rather than temporal, as appears from the addition of ἐνταῦθα δή.

## 1.2 *Conclusion*

In describing the usage of participial clauses and ἐπεί-, ἐπειδή-, and ὡς-clauses, classical philologists and linguists have traditionally been concerned with the relation of embedded predications to their matrix clause. Much attention has been paid to the nature of the relation between the embedded predication and its matrix clause in terms of semantic notions such as causality and, especially, temporality. Within this approach, a key-function for the interpretation of the nature of this relation has been attributed to the tense/aspect of the verbal constituent of the embedded predication. This approach turns out to be problematic in certain instances,[13] and in general it seems to put too much emphasis on temporality, leaving the organization of texts and the contribution of subclauses and participles to text coherence underestimated. As we shall see, they often articulate a discourse boundary at points of segmentation. This discourse function of preposed subclauses and participles cannot be described satisfactorily on the basis of a sentence-level approach. This approach proves even less useful when we investigate the distribution of the different clause types themselves, often considered alternatives. My aim in the following chapters will be to show that *context* is crucial for understanding the function of the different clause types under consideration.

# 2 *Analysis of Ancient Greek Narrative Discourse*

## 2.1 *The Nature of Narrative Discourse*

When writing a historical text, the historian captures in words Real World experience. In order to do so, he makes a cognitive arrangement operate on his Real World impressions in all their multifarious forms, which results in a conception of events. The event is "a hermeneutic construct for converting an undifferentiated

[13] The issue will be further addressed in the discussion of examples in this book.

continuum of the raw data of experience … into the verbal structures we use to talk about experience: narratives, stories" (Fleischman, 1990: 99). The event thus mediates between Real World experience and the way it is presented in texts. The transformation of Real World experience into historical narrative necessarily involves 'decision': a decision over which events are to be selected for recording, and a decision as to *how* to present the selected events in a narrative, because "narratives do not exist, as it were, in some real world, waiting there patiently to be veridically mirrored in a text" (Bruner, 1991: 8).

The perception of reality should be distinguished from the expression of reality in a narrative. It is often assumed that reality structure comes prior to narrative structure, in that the structure of historical narrative copies the structure of reality. However, the constraints of narrative structure condition our way of looking at reality. The Real World experience takes form only by its representation in the form of a narrative. The activities of the historian organizing scattered events into meaningful ensembles are twofold: he is in the process of *text construction* on the one hand, and in the process of a *(re-)construction of reality*, on the other.

When imposing his textual framework upon reality, the historian may signal relations between situations in the Real World, or may refrain from signaling them. As narrated events occur in time, the signaling of temporal succession is usually seen as one of the characteristics of narrative discourse. Yet the relations between the events of the narrative are always dependent upon the way the historian organizes his narrative as a whole. The historian thus creates "an order out of mere succession" (Hohler, 1987: 294).

With respect to the object of the present study, the following, simplified example may well illustrate the point. If we consider two reality-situations which are to be recorded as two separate events, a speaker of Ancient Greek may *(1)* opt for two separate (co-ordinated) finite main verbs, or *(2)* present one of the events in grammatical subordination. In the second case he has the *choice* between *(2a)* a finite verb in a subclause and a finite main verb and *(2b)* a participial clause and a finite main verb. Option *(1)* results in just presenting the two events, no more and no less, without—apart from the order in which he presents them—indicating the relation between the events in the Real World. Option *(2)* may be chosen for reasons of discourse organization, in which case he can still choose between giving a clue

about the relation[14] in reality between the subordinated and the superordinated event by using a subclause *(2a)*, or refraining from doing so, by using a participial clause *(2b)*. Thus, while *(1)* differs from *(2)* in that the choice of the latter pertains to the organization of the text in terms of the presentation of the two events, *(2a)* differs from both *(1)* and *(2b)* in that only in *(2a)* the organization of reality in terms of the Real World relation between the two events is at issue.

In keeping with the argument outlined above, there are three different levels involved in the historian's activity. The first level I shall call the *reality-level*; it is the level of his Real World experience, i.e. any event not (yet) captured in text, and as such outside the domain of discourse analysis. The second level I shall label the *level of the Real World construction*, which involves everything pertaining to the organization of the Real World situations of which the text seeks to be a *μίμησις*. This is the level at which relations between events in the Real World as (re-)presented by the author come in. The third and final level I shall call the *level of text articulation*, which involves everything pertaining to the organization of the text. Questions about the presentation of events in an on-going narrative belong to this level. Both the level of the Real World construction and the level of text articulation are of relevance to discourse analysts.

### 2.1.1 *Temporal Relations*

The notion of 'time' is involved in both the 'happenings' in the Real World and the 'events' as presented in a narrative. The time fallacy that has haunted Ancient Greek philologists and linguists working in the field of Ancient Greek (historiographic) narrative discourse is that in narrative texts we deal with real time relationships, whereas in fact the notion of 'time' involved is that of *narrative time*—a kind of projected temporality that usually does not correspond to 'real time'.

Usually the order in which the events in an on-going discourse are narrated is iconic in the sense that it mirrors the succession in real time of Real World 'happenings' as perceived by the narrator. Whenever the narrator wishes to deviate from this standard procedure for reasons of presentation,[15] he has to signal this deviation

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[14] Either a specific or a non-specific relation; cf. Chapter 1, Section 2.2.1.

[15] Note that the recording of two events as occurring simultaneously necessarily involves a decision in presentation, since two events corresponding to two Real World 'happenings' that, in their turn, are experienced as occurring simultaneously, cannot,

linguistically. Moreover, he may wish to specify temporal relations whenever he thinks that doing so will contribute to a successful communication with his audience. In order to specify temporal relations between narrated events, the Ancient Greek speaker has several devices at his disposal. Apart from using a subclause headed by a specific time subordinator, he may put in temporally specific adverbials, e.g. *ἐν τούτῳ*, *μετὰ τοῦτο/ταῦτα*, *ἔπειτα*, or *ὕστερον*.[16] Although it often seems to be assumed that the Ancient Greek speaker was much concerned with expressing temporal relationships,[17] the actual situation in Ancient Greek does not support this view. Although temporal relationships between narrated events may be specified by means of temporally specific subordinators[18] or adverbials, such overt marking often lacks. Our interpretation of temporal relationships is usually determined merely by the order in which the events are presented, in conjunction with our knowledge of the world.

This yields the following distinction: when of two actions A1 and A2, action A2 is interpreted *in context* as sequential to action A1 on the narrative time plane, narrative time is propelled forward; it will always be difficult to assert anything about 'real time' relationships, since we are only dealing with the speaker's (re-)presentation of reality in the form of narrative.

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strictly speaking, be narrated simultaneously. On a more global discourse level, a narrator might therefore wish to organize his narrative thematically: cf. for instance *Hellenica* 7.3.4-7.4.1 *ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπείπερ ἠρξάμην, διατελέσαι βούλομαι τὰ περὶ Εὔφρονος ... καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Εὔφρονος εἴρηται· ἐγὼ δὲ ἔνθεν εἰς ταῦτα ἐξέβην ἐπάνειμι* ('however, since I have begun it, I desire to finish the story of Euphron ... the story of Euphron has been told, and I return to the point from which I digressed to this subject')—cf. also 6.1.19 *καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐπεραίνετο· ἐγὼ δὲ πάλιν ἐπάνειμι, ὅθεν εἰς τὰς περὶ Ἰάσονος πράξεις ἐξέβην* ('thus these events were proceeding to their issue; I now return to the point at which I digressed when I took up the story of Jason'); in 4.8.1 *καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ κατὰ γῆν πόλεμος οὕτως ἐπολεμεῖτο. ἐν ᾧ δὲ πάντα ταῦτα ἐπράττετο, τὰ κατὰ θάλατταν αὖ καὶ τὰς πρὸς θαλάττῃ πόλεις γενόμενα διηγήσομαι* ... ('as for the war by land, it was being waged in the manner described. I will now recount what happened by sea and in the cities on the coast while all these things were going on ...'), the specific (temporal) relator *ἐν ᾧ* marks the simultaneous occurrence of the war by land and the events by sea and in the cities on the coast, which Xenophon chose to narrate separately.

16 Perhaps we should include the expression *ἐκ τούτου*, which at least indicates a subsequent development of events, but lacks the feature of being semantically specific; cf. Pelliccia (1989: 95-96) on expressions like *ἐκ τοῦ*, *ἐξ οὗ* and *ἀφ' οὗ*.

17 Cf. especially the discussion on the value of the aorist and present stem, e.g., Hettrich (1976); for a contrasting opinion on the subject, see Sicking (1996).

18 See Chapter 1, Section 1.1.

### 2.2 *Factors Operating on the Choice among Alternative Expressions*

Now that the levels relevant to the study of narratives have been established, they may provide a point of departure for a more detailed description of the factors operative on the Ancient Greek speaker's choice among different clause types in creating (historiographic) narrative discourse. These I consider to be:

1. Presentation of Real World Relations
2. Text Articulation
3. Information Processing

#### 2.2.1 *Presentation of Real World Relations*

*Ceteris paribus* the order in which the events are narrated in a historical text mirrors the speaker's perception of the succession in real time of the Real World 'happenings' they represent. If in his narrative (re-)construction of reality the historian makes use of clause combining, he may either indicate that he experiences some, in itself unspecified, Real World relation between the subordinated and the superordinated event, or he may refrain from indicating a Real World relation between them. If he wishes to indicate that, according to him, a Real World relation between the two events obtains, he may use a subclause. He may also wish to specify this relation. If he does so, he will make use of relators that refer to (aspects) of states of affairs in reality, which I call semantically *specific relators*, such as ἐν ᾧ, ὅτε, or ἡνίκα, for temporal relations, or διότι or ὅτι for 'causal'[19] relations. In case he does not want, or need, to be specific, but still wants to indicate that, according to him, *a* Real World relation between the subordinated and the superordinated event obtains, without specifying the nature of this relation, he will use *non-specific relators* such as ἐπεί,[20]

[19] The disadvantage of the traditional term *causal* is that this term may be taken to exclude relations of reason. Whenever I speak of 'causal' relations (in inverted commas), both relations of *cause* and relations of *reason* are meant; I shall distinguish between the two terms when necessary.

[20] A view comparable to mine has been put forward by Pelliccia in an article on Pindar, *Nemean* 7.31-36 (1989: 74): "The more sensible course, in my view, is not to fasten specific meanings on ἐπεί and instead to describe its function alone: ἐπεί introduces circumstantial clauses modifying the main verb; the time-value of its verb is relative to that of the main verb; the meaning of the clause (temporal, causal, concessive, etc.) in any given context is determined by the demands of that context. A good model for comprehending the range (and vagueness) of an ἐπεί clause is

ἐπειδή, or ὡς, which operate not on a semantic level, but on the discourse level. When, however, the narrator does not want to indicate a Real World relation between the events expressed in the subordinate clause and the matrix clause, he uses a participial clause.[21] The most obvious example of this is provided by those instances where, apart from the temporal relation in the Real World that always obtains between two events, the clause combination expresses no conceivable Real World relation between the events.[22] In this case the choice of a subclause headed by a semantically non-specific relator is excluded altogether. But the speaker may simply wish not to indicate a Real World relation which he did experience, because at a certain point in the text his choice in favor of a participial clause is influenced by other factors. That sometimes other factors prevail in the choice among clause types is shown by the fact that we actually do find participial clauses headed by a semantically specific relator such as καίπερ and ἅτε, or ὡς.[23] In such cases the narrator still wants to specify the Real World relation between the content of the clauses in the clause combination.

Presentation of Real World relations between events is something that pertains to the level of the Real World construction of discourse analysis, as it is concerned with the way the perceived reality is expressed in the text.

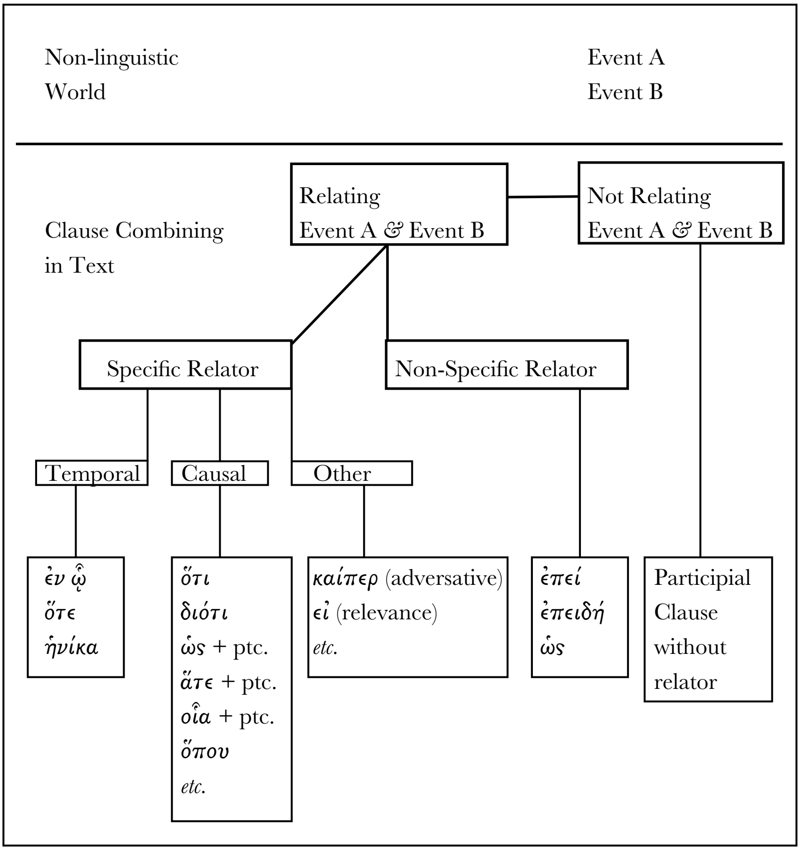
furnished by the circumstantial participle, and it may on occasion even be desirable to translate an ἐπεί clause as an unadorned participial phrase; that is to say, to decline to classify a given instance as temporal, causal, or concessive, in the interests of avoiding the imposition of syntactical patterns found in the speaker's own language but not in the original Greek". Although too strictly concerned with sentence-level grammar, Pelliccia's view is an important step forward.

[21] It should be noted that as far as Real World relations are concerned, it is irrelevant whether the verbal constituent of the participial clause is an aorist or a present tense stem form.

[22] Cf. *Hellenica* 3.2.21, where the only conceivable Real World relation between the actions performed by Dercylidas in Asia and the Spartans in Greece is indeed a temporal one, but note that this relation is specified only by the temporal adverbial κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον.

[23] In this connection one may also think of the usage of adverbs like μεταξύ, εὐθύς, and ἅμα.

*Figure 1: Presentation of Real World Relations*[24]




### 2.2.2 *Text Articulation*

*Preposed* subordinate clauses may perform the function of text articulation. This takes place at the boundary of discourse units, i.e., at points of discontinuity in the discourse. Boundaries are found both on the level of text articulation and on the level of the Real World construction.

On the level of text articulation, the boundaries are best called *textual* boundaries; textual boundaries occur at points where the

[24] Only the semantically specific relators most commonly found in narrative discourse are listed here; for a complete overview of (alleged temporal) relators, most of which for that matter do not qualify as alternatives for ἐπεί, ἐπειδή, and ὡς, see n. 4 through 6.

speaker wants to indicate a transition of one part *of the text* to another. At such boundaries, subordinate clauses may perform the function of segmenting text (with or without linkage of text parts) by introducing a new point of departure for the upcoming text segment.

On the other hand, we also find boundaries that pertain to the *content* of the text; at these content-oriented or *thematic* boundaries the speaker wants to indicate a transition from one part *of the story* to another. These thematic boundaries belong to the level of the Real World construction. At this level, subordinate clauses may perform the function of segmenting text into different *thematic units*. It is important to note that if we have a thematic boundary, we also have a textual boundary, but not necessarily *vice versa:* a textual boundary does not necessarily imply a thematic boundary—cf. the analysis of discourse boundaries and of the particles δέ and καί as marking discontinuity and continuity, respectively, in Bakker, 1993.

Text Articulation, then, appears to be a factor in those instances where preposed subordinate clauses perform a function in segmenting text into discourse units. Generally speaking—as will be further demonstrated in Chapter 4—, if a choice among subordinate clauses is influenced by the factor of Text Articulation, narrators tend to choose a participial clause when they wish to signal a textual boundary by introducing a new point of departure for the upcoming text segment without segmentation of the text into different thematic units. On the other hand, if the narrator wants to signal a thematic boundary in addition to a textual one, the choice is in favor of a subclause (an ἐπεί-, ἐπειδή-, or ὡς-clause). In Section 2.2.1 I have postulated that ἐπεί-, ἐπειδή-, and ὡς-clause are used for indicating a semantically non-specific relation between clauses within the sentence. Within the opposition participial clause vs. subclause, then, the subclause is marked for content-relations, both on the sentence-level and, if preposed, on the discourse-level. The gist of Section 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 is presented in figure 2:

*Figure 2: Presentation of Real World Relations and Text Articulation*

| | **Presentation of Real World Relations** | **Text Articulation** |
|---|---|---|
| *participial clause* | no relation indicated | textual boundary |
| *subclause* | semantically non-specific relation → content-relation between clauses within the sentence | textual + thematic boundary → content-segmentation of discourse units |

### 2.2.3 *Information Processing*

The presentation of information in discourse may be approached from various angles. In this Section I shall discuss two oppositions by which information-phenomena are often viewed: Given Information vs. New Information and Main Information vs. Subsidiary Information.

Basically, a taxonomy of given/new information is tripartite.[25] Information conveyed at any point in discourse can be *entirely new*, *contextually prepared* or *entirely given*. Information status is best viewed as a continuum with gliding scales, with on the one extreme entirely new information (i.e., information not yet processed in the preceding discourse or not present in the speech situation), and on the other extreme entirely given information (i.e., information already processed in the preceding discourse or present in the speech situation). Between these two extremes, there are various degrees in the 'newness' or 'givenness' of information. From the point of view of text production, the status of this information depends on what the text-producer assumes the text-receiver to be able to infer from other entities in the discourse context or speech situation. *Vice versa* from the point of view of text comprehension, the status of this information depends on what the text-receiver may infer from other entities in

[25] Although further distinctions can be made; see Prince, 1981; Virtanen, 1992.

discourse context or speech situation. Since in descriptive linguistics it is the linguist's work to concentrate on the text itself, I shall label this 'intermediate' category *contextually prepared information*.

Information may be contextually prepared in different ways. In the following example, the two subordinate clauses in bold type contain contextually prepared information:

> *Oscar Wilde,* The Picture of Dorian Gray*, Beginning of Chapter 8*[26]
> It was long past noon when he awoke. His valet had crept several times on tiptoe into the room to see if he was stirring, and had wondered what made his young master sleep so late. Finally his bell sounded, and Victor came in softly with a cup of tea, and a pile of letters, on a small tray of old Sèvres china, and drew back the olive-satin curtains, with their shimmering blue lining, that hung in front of the three tall windows. "Monsieur has well slept this morning," he said, smiling. "What o'clock is it, Victor?" asked Dorian Gray drowsily. "One hour and a quarter, Monsieur."
>
> How late it was! He sat up, and **having sipped some tea**, turned over his letters [...].
>
> After about ten minutes he got up, and, throwing on an elaborate dressing-gown of silk-embroidered cashmere wool, passed into the onyx-paved bathroom. The cool water refreshed him after his long sleep. He seemed to have forgotten all that he had gone through. A dim sense of having taken part in some strange tragedy came to him once or twice, but there was the unreality of a dream about it.
>
> **As soon as he was dressed**, he went into the library and sat down to a light French breakfast, that had been laid out for him on a small round table close to the open window. It was an exquisite day. The warm air seemed laden with spices. A bee flew in and buzzed round the blue-dragon bowl that, filled with sulphur-yellow roses, stood before him. He felt perfectly happy.

The second paragraph starts with a sentence of reported thought of Dorian Gray; then we are informed that he performed three actions: he sat up, sipped some tea, and turned over his letters. The first and the third action are described by a finite main verb, the second one is expressed by a participial clause. That Dorian actually sipped some tea is something that we had not been told before; the information conveyed in the participial clause, however, is highly inferrable, both from the situation in general (drinking tea is something people do after waking up) and from the preceding discourse (the first paragraph

---

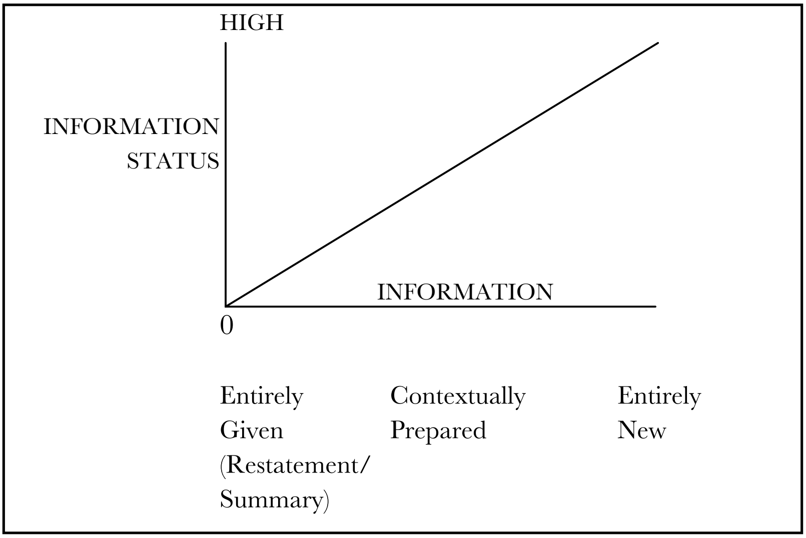
[26] Taken from: *Complete Works of Oscar Wilde. With an Introduction by Vivian Holland*, London and Glasgow: Collins, 1977[3].

describes Victor coming in with a cup of tea, so that the reader would expect Dorian to drink some). The same applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to the information contained in the subclause "As soon as he was dressed": this is contextually prepared information because people may be expected to dress after washing, an event about which the reader was informed in the preceding paragraph. As a result, the subclause effects a smooth change-over from the paragraph about the bathroom to the paragraph about the breakfast in the library, by expressing contextually prepared information that naturally fits in between.

While the information status of entirely new information is high, contextually prepared information has a relatively lower information status. In text comprehension, entities conveying contextually prepared information are more easily processed, and for this reason they can perform a text-organizing function. Participial clauses and subclauses conveying contextually prepared information are typically used for articulating the text: they describe actions that are less salient for the development of the story line than those described by main verbs (as in the case of the participial clause "having sipped some tea" in the above example), or articulate thematic units (as with the subclause "As soon as he was dressed" above).[27] In the case of entirely given information, the recipient of the text is properly speaking not informed at all, so that these entities may be said to lack information status; resumptive clauses containing such information are used for text-organizational purposes only. So, as a rule of thumb, we may state that the lower the information status of an entity, the greater is its text-articulating function:

[27] Note that "having sipped some tea" occurs sentence- and paragraph-medial whereas "As soon as he was dressed" occupies the sentence- and paragraph-initial position.

*Figure 3: Continuum of Information Status*




The second opposition posited at the beginning of this Section is the opposition of Main Information vs. Subsidiary Information. This opposition is mainly based on the assumption that not all information provided in discourse is equally important for the point the speaker wants to make. On the sentence level, the notion of subsidiary information is used to refer to those pieces of information that do not belong to the main assertion. On the discourse level, clauses that do not belong to the narrative assertion are referred to as containing subsidiary information; they owe their appearance to the fact that they make the text more than an enumeration of events, i.e. they make a narrative out of successive events. Thus, speakers often present information in order to orient their addressee towards a new point to be made or introduce information for reasons of text articulation (e.g., 'closure-marking'). Often information is conveyed in relation to other information for clarifying purposes, e.g. to elucidate or motivate the occurrence of an action or for the speaker's own conduct. The opposition discussed here basically amounts to the following dichotomy: information may be conveyed as independently informative or to be connected by the recipient of the text to other information in the context. In the second case the information is

additional to the main point made, so as to color the audience's mental picture of the current situation.

## 3 *Aims*

The main question that will be addressed in this book will be: 'What are the *contextual* factors underlying the Greek author's choice between a participial clause and an ἐπεί/ἐπειδή/ὡς-clause?' In answering this central question, this book neither tries to confirm existing theories nor does it present a watertight theory of its own in terms of stringent rules. What it does aim at, however, is signaling regularities in the usage of the clause types studied. Signaling regularities, for that matter, is something we have to content ourselves with in discourse analysis—see Brown & Yule (1983: 22): "The discourse analyst, with his 'ordinary language' data, is committed to quite a different view of the rule-governed aspects of a language. Indeed, he may wish to discuss, not 'rules' but regularities, simply because his data constantly exemplifies non-categorial phenomena". We do not have 'ordinary language' data at our disposal for Ancient Greek, but assuming that the writer of an Ancient Greek text was free to choose among the many ways to code a message linguistically, and that his choice among alleged alternative clause types is related to the function of the clause in the organization of coherent text, we can examine the transmitted text as accurately as possible; it is only by close examination in context that we will arrive at a better understanding of the usage of these clause types. In order to reduce the influence of the rhetorical aspects of texts as much as possible, my data-base consists of two comparable, but not identical narrative texts by Xenophon: the *Hellenica* and the *Anabasis*. Additional examples are occasionally provided from other texts by Xenophon, especially the encomium *Agesilaus*, which contains narrative passages that describe Real World events that are also recorded in the *Hellenica*, and the *Cyropaedia*. In Chapter 2, I will present a selection of 'near-minimal pairs': instances where the alternative expressions are used in comparable contexts. In Chapter 3, I will discuss the way in which Real World relations are coded by means of subordinating conjunctions. Semantically specific relations between embedded predications and their matrix clause will be set off from semantically non-specific ones. The distribution of ἐπεί-, ὡς-,

and ἐπειδή-clauses[28] and participles will then be addressed in Chapters 4 and 5. As the discourse function of embedded predications turns out to vary according to their position in the sentence, I distinguish between *preposed* clauses (embedded predications that precede their matrix clause)[29] and *postposed* clauses (embedded predications clauses that follow their matrix clause). The different functions of preposed subclauses and participles, and especially sentence-initial ones, as discourse boundary markers is described in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 is devoted to the differences between clause types with respect to the information flow in on-going discourse. Section 1 discusses postposed embedded predications which may receive a 'causal' interpretation, while in Section 2 views on the syntax of text grammar outlined in the foregoing Chapters are used to account for the occurrence of genitive absolute constructions where, from the point of view of sentence-syntax, the narrator could have used a conjunct participle. Finally, the results of these investigations will be presented in Chapter 6.

As we should be careful about relying on rules derived from statistics, I have chosen not to provide these. Numbers and ratios, especially when different factors pertaining to the distribution of participles and subclauses are operative at the same time, merely produce an appearance of objectivity which would be out of place in a study that aims at pointing out the importance of the context in which the alternative expressions occur.

The reader will observe in the discussion of examples that my treatment of tense stems is not based on any particular theory of verbal aspect in Ancient Greek. However, I tend to regard verbal aspect, especially where aorist tense stem forms and present tense stem forms in indicatives and participles are at issue, as a text articulating device, and therewith I shall be found to subscribe

[28] I have not been able to find decisive criteria to sufficiently describe the internal distribution of ἐπεί, ἐπειδή, and ὡς. Comparing *Cyropaedia* 5.3.57 **ἐπεὶ** δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, 7.2.2 **ἐπειδὴ** δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, and 4.1.9 **ὡς** δ' ἡμέρα ἐγένετο one would be inclined to refrain from distinguishing a specific contribution of each of the three subordinators. Further research is required here.

[29] Embedded predications occuping a position early in the sentence perform a more prominent text-organizational function; when necessary, I shall distinguish within the category of preposed clauses between *sentence-initially placed* clauses and clauses that precede their matrix clause, but do not occupy the sentence-initial position.

predominantly to the views on verbal aspect that Sicking presented in a series of publications (see especially Sicking 1991 and 1996). Thus, a verbal action will be seen as independently asserted when showing an aorist tense stem form, while imperfects and present tense stem form participles are considered to be connected to other actions in the context (compare, however, for the discourse function of the imperfect also Rijksbaron, 1986, 1988, and 2002).

English translations are in principle taken from the Loeb editions. In a number of cases, however, I have changed, adapted or paraphrased these translations in order to stay closer to the information-structure of the Greek text.

# CHAPTER TWO

# SIX NEAR-MINIMAL PAIRS

## *Introduction*

In the case of modern languages, linguists have the possibility of taking two texts that differ only slightly, and of asking a native speaker how he or she experiences the texts. This is not possible in the case of a dead language such as Ancient Greek. Fortunately, there are several parallel passages in the works of Xenophon that provide the opportunity to take a close look at alternatives which, at first glance, might give the impression of being demonstrations of random choice on the part of the speaker, but at the same time present to us exactly the required material. In this chapter I present a selection of such near-minimal pairs (NMP's), based on their ability to clarify the usage of the Ancient Greek 'alternative' clause types that were outlined in Chapter 1, in order to investigate their contribution to text articulation. Neither in the discussion of Ancient Greek grammar, nor in discourse-centered linguistics have these passages received full consideration.

The claims made in Chapter 1 will be substantiated and illustrated on the basis of these NMP's that illustrate the choice between: 1) a conjunct participial clause and a finite main verb, 2) a conjunct participial clause and a subclause, 3) a subclause and a main clause, 4) a subclause and a genitive absolute construction, and 5) a conjunct participial clause and a genitive absolute construction. In the analysis of the NMP's it will be specified what the effect of the individual clause types consists in.

### 1 *NMP 1:* Hellenica *4.3.20-21 vs.* Agesilaus *2.15*

In many instances the *Hellenica* and the *Agesilaus* describe the same Real World situation; sometimes the exact same verbal action is expressed by different linguistic means. The example below illustrates

this for the the action ‘taking dinner’, which is expressed by a conjunct participial clause in the *Hellenica*, and by a finite main verb in the *Agesilaus*.

| [1] *Hellenica* 4.3.20-21 | [2] *Agesilaus* 2.15 |
|---|---|
| *τότε μὲν οὖν*<br>*—καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἤδη ὀψέ—*<br><br><br>***δειπνοποιησάμενοι ἐκοιμήθησαν***. *πρῳ δέ …*<br>Then—it was already late—<br><br><br>**having taken dinner they went to sleep.**<br>In the morning … | *τότε μὲν οὖν*<br>*—καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἤδη ὀψέ—*<br>*συνελκύσαντες τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων νεκροὺς εἴσω φάλαγγος*<br>***ἐδειπνοποιήσαντο καὶ ἐκοιμήθησαν***· *πρῳ δέ …*<br>Then—it was already late—<br>having dragged the enemy’s dead within their battle line,<br>**they took dinner and went to sleep.**<br><br>In the morning … |

At the end of the day, Agesilaus and his men take dinner and go to sleep (*δειπνοποιησάμενοι ἐκοιμήθησαν* and *ἐδειπνοποιήσαντο καὶ ἐκοιμήθησαν*, respectively); in [2], Xenophon adds the information that they dragged the enemy’s dead within their battle line. By this fact, the two passages differ in that the *Hellenica* presents a sequence of two verbal actions, while the Agesilaus presents us with three. In either case, a finite main verb is used for the action ‘going to sleep’.

The finite main verb *ἐκοιμήθησαν* often occurs in the works of Xenophon to close off a discourse episode, unsurprisingly so given the meaning of the verb. Example [1] and [2] thus present ‘typical’ scenes; we might even go one step further and posit that Xenophon, in producing (historical) narrative, had a ‘pre-fab’-scheme in mind, to be used for articulation at suitable points in his text.

In order to provide an answer to the question what would be the difference between the choice of an (aorist) conjunct participial clause and of a finite verb in NMP 1, I have mapped the distribution of clause types by which other sequential actions are presented whenever the verb form *ἐκοιμήθησαν* is used in the same context as in NMP 1.

*Figure 1: ‘going to sleep’-sequences in the works of Xenophon.*
[FV = finite verb; CP = conjunct participle: a = aorist stem; p = present stem; pf = perfect stem]

<table>
<tr><td colspan="3">FV: 3</td></tr>
<tr><td>a</td><td>Cyropaedia<br>5.4.19</td><td>καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτως ἐκοιμήθησαν. ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ …<br>And thus then they went to sleep. At daybreak …</td></tr>
<tr><td>b</td><td>Cyropaedia<br>7.3.1</td><td>καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτως ἐκοιμήθησαν. τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ …<br>And thus then they went to sleep. On the following day …</td></tr>
<tr><td>c</td><td>Cyropaedia<br>7.5.40</td><td>καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτως ἐκοιμήθησαν. τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ …<br>And thus then they went to sleep. On the following day …</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">pfCP + FV: 1</td></tr>
<tr><td>d</td><td>Anabasis<br>4.3.2</td><td>τότε μὲν οὖν ηὐλίσθησαν μάλα ἡδέως καὶ τἀπιτήδεια ἔχοντες καὶ πολλὰ τῶν παρεληλυθότων πόνων μνημονεύοντες. ἑπτὰ γὰρ ἡμέρας ὅσασπερ ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῶν Καρδούχων πάσας μαχόμενοι διετέλεσαν, καὶ ἔπαθον κακὰ ὅσα οὐδὲ τὰ σύμπαντα ὑπὸ βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους. ὡς οὖν ἀπηλλαγμένοι τούτων ἡδέως ἐκοιμήθησαν. ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ …<br>At the time, then, they went into their quarters very happily, having provisions and likewise many recollections of the hardships that were now past. For during all the seven days of their march through the land of the Carduchians they were continually fighting, and they suffered more evils than all which they had suffered taken together at the hands of the King and Tissaphernes. In the feeling, therefore, that they were rid of these troubles they went to sleep happily. At daybreak …</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">aCP + FV: 5</td></tr>
<tr><td>e</td><td>Hellenica<br>4.3.20-21</td><td>τότε μὲν οὖνῷκαὶ γὰρ ἦν ἤδη ὀψέῲδειπνοποιησάμενοι ἐκοιμήθησαν. πρῲ δέ …<br>Then—it was already late—having taken dinner they went to sleep. In the morning …</td></tr>
</table>

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| f | *Anabasis* 4.5.29 | *ταύτην μὲν τὴν νύκτα διασκηνήσαντες οὕτως ἐκοιμήθησαν ἐν πᾶσιν ἀφθόνοις πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται, ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχοντες τὸν κώμαρχον καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ὁμοῦ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς. τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ …*<br>That night, then, **having** thus **gone to billets** all the soldiers **went to sleep** amid an abundance of everything, keeping the village chief under guard and his children all together within sight. On the next day … |
| g | *Anabasis* 6.4.10 | *καὶ τότε μὲν δειπνήσαντες ἐκοιμήθησαν. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ …*<br>And thus then **having dined they went to sleep**. On the following day … |
| h | *Cyropaedia* 3.1.43 | *τότε μὲν δὴ* ***ξενισθέντες*** *οἱ στρατιῶται* ***ἐκοιμήθησαν****. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ …*<br>And then **having received their presents** the soldiers **went to sleep**. On the following day … |
| i | *Cyropaedia* 3.3.28 | *καὶ ἐκείνην μὲν τὴν νύκτα ὥσπερ ἔπρεπε προφυλακὰς ποιησάμενοι ἑκάτεροι ἐκοιμήθησαν. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ …*<br>And that night **having stationed** advance guards, as was proper, each side **went to sleep**. On the following day … |
| | aCP *καὶ* aCP + FV: 2 | |
| j | *Cyropaedia* 4.1.7 | *καὶ οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀμφὶ* Κῦρον *δειπνοποιησάμενοι καὶ φυλακὰς καταστησάμενοι ὡς ἔδει ἐκοιμήθησαν. οἱ δὲ* Ἀσσύριοι *…*<br>And Cyrus and his followers, **having taken dinner and stationed** sentinels duly, **went to sleep**. The Assyrians … |
| k | *Cyropaedia* 7.2.1 | *καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν* Κῦρον *δειπνοποιησάμενοι καὶ φυλακὰς καταστησάμενοι, ὥσπερ ἔδει, ἐκοιμήθησαν.* Κροῖσος *μέντοι …*<br>And Cyrus and his followers, **having taken dinner and stationed** sentinels, as was necessary, **went to sleep**. Croesus, however, … |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| aCP καὶ aCP καὶ aCP + FV: 2 | | |
| l | *Cyropaedia* 3.3.33 | καὶ τότε μὲν δειπνοποιησάμενοι καὶ φυλακὰς καταστησάμενοι καὶ πυρὰ πολλὰ πρὸ τῶν φυλακῶν καύσαντες ἐκοιμήθησαν. τῇ δ᾽ ὑστεραίᾳ πρῴ …<br>And then, **having taken dinner and stationed** sentinels **and lighted** many fires in front of the sentinels, **they went to sleep**. Early on the following day … |
| m | *Cyropaedia* 5.3.51 | οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τότε μὲν δειπνήσαντες καὶ φυλακὰς καταστησάμενοι καὶ συσκευασάμενοι πάντα ἃ ἔδει ἐκοιμήθησαν. ἡνίκα δ᾽ ἦν ἐν μέσῳ νυκτῶν …<br>The soldiers then, **having dined and stationed** sentinels **and packed up** everything they needed, **went to sleep**. When it was midnight … |
| aCP + FV καὶ FV: 1 | | |
| n | *Agesilaus* 2.15 | τότε μὲν οὖνῳκαὶ γὰρ ἦν ἤδη ὀψέῳσυνελκύσαντες τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων νεκροὺς εἴσω φάλαγγος ἐδειπνοποιήσαντο καὶ ἐκοιμήθησαν· πρῴ δέ …<br>Then—it was already late—**having dragged** the enemy's dead within their battle line, **they took dinner and went to sleep.** In the morning … |
| FV καὶ aCP + FV: 1 | | |
| o | *Cyropaedia* 3.2.2 | καὶ τότε μὲν ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ δειπνήσαντες ἐκοιμήθησαν. τῇ δ᾽ ὑστεραίᾳ …<br>And then **they went back** to camp **and having dined they went to sleep**. On the following day … |
| pCP καὶ aCP + pFV καὶ aCP + FV: 1 | | |
| p | *Cyropaedia* 6.3.37 | τότε μὲν δὴ **ἀπιόντες καὶ ἐπιμεληθέντες** ὧν προεῖπον **ἐδειπνοποιοῦντο καὶ** φυλακὰς **καταστησάμενοι ἐκοιμήθησαν**. τῇ δ᾽ ὑστεραίᾳ πρῴ …<br>And then, **having gone away and attended to** the details of all that I have mentioned, **they took dinner and having stationed** sentinels **went to sleep**. Early on the following day … |

| Other | | |
|---|---|---|
| q | *Anabasis* 2.1.1 | [*ὡς μὲν οὖν ἠθροίσθη* Κύρῳ *τὸ* Ἑλληνικὸν *ὅτε ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν* Ἀρταξέρξην *ἐστρατεύετο, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῇ ἀνόδῳ ἐπράχθη καὶ ὡς ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο καὶ ὡς* Κῦρος *ἐτελεύτησε καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον* ***ἐλθόντες*** *οἱ* Ἕλληνες ***ἐκοιμήθησαν*** *οἰόμενοι τὰ πάντα νικᾶν καὶ* Κῦρον *ζῆν, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται.*] *ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ …*<br>[The preceding narrative has described how a Greek force was collected for Cyrus at the time when he was planning an expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, what events took place during the upward march, how the battle was fought, how Cyrus met his death, and how the Greeks **having returned** to their camp **went to sleep**, supposing that they were victorious at all points and that Cyrus was alive.] At daybreak … |
| r | *Cyropaedia* 2.4.30 | *Χρυσάντας μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ ἐπιγαυρωθεὶς τῇ ἐντολῇ τῇ* Κύρου, *λαβὼν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ἀπελθὼν καὶ παραγγείλας ἃ ἔδει τοῖς ἅμα αὐτῷ μέλλουσι πορεύεσθαι, ἀνεπαύετο.* ***ἐπεὶ*** *δὲ* ***ἀπεκοιμήθησαν*** *ὅσον ἐδόκει μέτριον εἶναι, ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη.* Κῦρος *δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, …*<br>On hearing this, Chrysantas being elated with his commission from Cyrus took his guides and went away, and having given what orders he thought necessary to those who were to go with him went to rest. **When they had slept** as long as he thought reasonable, he started for the mountains. Cyrus, when daylight came, … |

I shall discuss examples [a] through [p] as listed and classified in the figure.[1]

[1] I will not discuss examples [q], where *ἐκοιμήθησαν* is used in a dependent *ὡς*-clause, and example [r], where the compound main verb *ἀπεκοιμήθησαν* is used in an *ἐπεί*-clause. I have included the NMP discussed at the beginning of this Section in the corpus ([1] = [e]; [2] = [n]) in order to be able to discuss the individual members of the pair in connection with the relevant other members of the corpus.

In every instance there is a boundary in the text after the sentence of which ἐκοιμήθησαν is the main finite verb. This boundary, separating (and, at the same time, linking) the two adjacent discourse units, is thematic in nature: a Real World boundary (*viz.*, the transition from the one day to the other) is reflected by a *textual* boundary in that one event sequence ends, and a new one starts. Further, the transition from one event sequence to another is signaled by a high density of linguistic marking. Conspicuous is the usage of transition-marking μέν … δέ. In all instances the μέν-member closes off a discourse unit, while the next event sequence starts in the δέ-member (cf. Bakker, 1993: 302-305). Only in [k] do we have μέντοι opening the new sentence, but this is easily accounted for (see below).

Indicators of thematic breaks between adjacent discourse units are temporal, spatial, referential or action discontinuity (see Chapter 4, Section 1). In all instances, there is temporal discontinuity in the transition from the one day to the other. This is marked by the usage of temporal adverbials: in [a]-[i] and [l]-[p] (total: 14) we have a temporal adverbial in the μέν-member in every instance (12x τότε; twice a reference to 'that night': ταύτην/ἐκείνην … τὴν νύκτα). In 13 of these 14 instances, the next sentence opens with a reference to the following day, in various forms: 6x τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ; 2x τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ πρῴ; 2x πρῴ δέ; 2x ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ; 1x τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ. The fourteenth time we have ἡνίκα δ' ἦν ἐν μέσῳ νυκτῶν. This is [m], which is different from the rest in that for several paragraphs we learn about events during the night. The new day is not mentioned until 5.3.57, after a resumptive 'closing line': τὴν μὲν δὴ νύκτα οὕτως ἐπορεύοντο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο …[2]

Whereas the transitions in these 14 instances occur in passages that are all *temporally* organized, passages [j] and [k] are organized around

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[2] Note that [m] is indeed differently organized: here the initial δέ connects the sentence in which we find the μέν-member to the preceding (as a matter of fact, it is the δέ-member of a μέν…δέ sequence), whereas τότε μέν…ἡνίκα δέ operates under the scope of the initial δέ. As regards the usage of subclauses in *Cyropaedia* 5.3.51-57, the larger context of [m], it is telling that at the point where there is need of a temporal reference, i.e. after τότε μέν, a semantically specific (temporal) subordinator such as ἡνίκα is used (compare the other 13 instances where we find a temporal reference) at a point where the narrative remains temporally organized, whereas at a point where a subclause is used to indicate a thematic boundary in an on-going narrative sequence, as in *Cyropaedia* 5.3.57, we find that an ἐπεί-clause is used; cf. the discussion of [j]-[k] below.

their *participants* (οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀμφὶ Κῦρον ... οἱ δὲ Ἀσσύριοι and οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Κῦρον ... Κροῖσος μέντοι, respectively). Still, there is a thematic break: there is referential discontinuity. However, the introduction of the action 'going to sleep' evokes the notion of 'night,' and a reference to the break of day is to be expected. In a way comparable to [m] ἐκοιμήθησαν ... ἡνίκα δ' ἦν ἐν μέσῳ νυκτῶν ... ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, this reference to the thematic break of temporal discontinuity is expressed by means of an ἐπεί-clause. In the case of [j] this happens in 4.1.9 after a resumptive 'closing line' (οὕτω δὴ ἐκλείπουσι τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἀπέρχονται τῆς νυκτός. ὡς δ' ἡμέρα ἐγένετο καὶ ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν ἐφάνη τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον ...); in the case of [k] in 7.2.2 (ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο), after we have been told what happened during the night. Thus, in [j]-[k] the temporal break is postponed; first the focus of attention shifts to the actions performed by a different participant during the night. The full NP οἱ δὲ Ἀσσύριοι [j] is a common means to articulate a *topic switch*. In the case of Κροῖσος μέντοι ([k]) there is an extra nuance: with μέντοι, the action undertaken is signaled as different from what one would expect on the basis of the context or situation.[3] The action undertaken by Croesus is that he and his army fled straight towards Sardis (εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Σάρδεων ἔφευγε σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι). The unexpectedness of this undertaking is clear from Cyrus's reaction (7.2.2): ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Σάρδεις ἦγε Κῦρος ('when daylight came, Cyrus led his army straight on against Sardis').

In the corpus, the μέν-member is opened by καί 9 out of 16 times. Whereas δέ is used to present a next independent step in a sequence of events, καί indicates that what follows is an addition to what precedes.[4] Other devices that mark the connection to the preceding include: μὲν οὖν (3x); μὲν δή (3x), and the use of anaphoric deictic elements such as οὕτως (3x), ταύτην (1x), and ἐκείνην (1x). Finally, ἐκοιμήθησαν is an aorist indicative, and the aorist stem is apt to close off a sequence.[5]

Several linguistic features of Ancient Greek narrative have thus been illustrated on the basis of this corpus. I shall now turn to the

[3] For μέντοι used for denial of expectation, see Slings (1997).
[4] Cf. Bakker (1993) on καί as a continuity-marker.
[5] The imperfect ἐκοιμῶντο is found only once in the entire works of Xenophon (*Anabasis* 4.5.14), where it is used in a relative clause.

grammar of expressing sequential actions with special attention to the hierarchy that obtains among them.

On the level of text articulation, the use of the finite verb *ἐκοιμήθησαν* is central to the closure of the thematic discourse unit. The simplest form of closing off a discourse segment is using an independent clause consisting of one finite verb, as illustrated in [a]-[c] (*καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτως ἐκοιμήθησαν*). In these examples we have a 'one event sentence'. Example [d] is slightly more complicated, but in fact still contains one event (*ἐκοιμήθησαν*), for the perfect participal clause *ὡς οὖν ἀπηλλαγμένοι τούτων* refers to a state of mind rather than an event, and resumes previously expressed information (propositional overlap).

Although in principle Greek syntax offers different alternatives to express two events in a sentence, in fact we only find an aorist conjunct participle followed by a finite verb ([e]-[i]). Participial clauses such as these are generally called clause chaining participles. Of course, the aorist stem is used, as the event encoded by the participial clause is expressed as a self-contained piece of information (the events are a part of the narrative assertion).[6] That they are not time adjuncts is indicated by the presence of other constituents providing a temporal reference. The chronology of the two events is determined by the way they are presented (clause chaining participle first, then the finite verb) and the hearer's/reader's knowledge of the world. In terms of text articulation though, the clause chaining participles are not on a par with the finite verb of their sentence. 'Taking dinner' ([e], [g]), 'being separately quartered' [f], 'being presented with gifts' [h] or 'stationing advance guards' [i] are less central to the thematic structure of the discourse. The action 'going to sleep' is therefore presented as the main information, whereas the other actions are presented by clause chaining participles. The usage of an aorist participle followed by a finite verb, therefore, is a means to express two independent events, and at the same time to constitute among them a hierarchy that is functional with respect to the articulation of the larger passage of which they are part.

[6] Contrast for instance *ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχοντες τὸν κώμαρχον καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ὁμοῦ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς* in [f], where the (postposed) present participle provides information that is to be connected to the preceding *ἐκοιμήθησαν*.

Now what if the narrator wishes to express more than two events in a sentence? The first option seems to be: adding a clause chaining participle; in principle there is no limit to extending a chain of participles.[7] In the corpus, however, this option is not found. Instead, we find two other options, both involving the use of *καί*: either the clause chaining participles are combined, resulting in combinations of two ([j]-[k]) or three ([l]-[m]) participial clauses, or the finite verbs are combined ([n]). The use of *καί* involves linking of what belongs together as set off from the rest. This linking occurs both with the clause chaining participles and with the finite verbs, i.e. on the appropriate hierarchical level. Thus, if we compare [e] to [j]-[k], the lower hierarchical level occupied by *δειπνοποιησάμενοι* alone in [e] is extended by one event (*φυλακὰς καταστησάμενοι*) in [j]-[k]; comparing [j]-[k] to [l]-[m], again the lower hierarchical level is extended by one event (*πυρά … καύσαντες* and *συσκευασάμενοι πάντα*, respectively), whereas if we compare [e] to [n], in [n] the lower hierarchical level is now taken by *συνελκύσαντες τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων νεκροὺς εἴσω φάλαγγος*, whereas the action 'taking dinner' is transferred to the higher hierarchical level and is linked to the action 'going to sleep'.

The choice of the hierarchical level at which the linking takes place is not random. Here we go back to the NMP that was the point of departure for this discussion.

Xenophon could have written **συνελκύσαντες (…) καὶ δειπνοποιησάμενοι ἐκοιμήθησαν* in *Agesilaus* 2.15 ([n] = [2]), expanding the sequence he wrote in the parallel passage in the *Hellenica* 4.3.20 ([e] = [1]) with one participial clause. Let us first observe that if we find linking of participial clauses before *ἐκοιμήθησαν*, we always find the series to be opened by the action 'taking dinner' (*δειπνοποιησάμενοι* in [j]-[l]; *δειπνήσαντες* in [m]), and naturally so because of the chronology in the Real World that is mirrored by the way events are presented in the text. The actions that are combined with the action 'taking dinner' by *καί* are again of relatively low importance for the discourse segment as a whole at the point where it ends: these actions belong to the routine of military

[7] For example: *Anabasis* 1.1.7 *ὁ δὲ Κῦρος* ***ὑπολαβὼν*** *τοὺς φεύγοντας* ***συλλέξας*** *στράτευμα* ***ἐπολιόρκει*** *Μίλητον* … ('Cyrus **took** the exiles **under his protection**, **collected** an army, and **laid siege to** Miletus').

warfare—'stationing sentinels' ([j]-[m], note ὥς/ὥσπερ ἔδει), 'lighting fires in front of the outposts' [l], or 'packing up everything' [m]—and are easily added to the scheme once the action 'taking dinner' has been mentioned. In *Agesilaus* 2.15 the situation is different. It is clear that the clause συνελκύσαντες τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων νεκροὺς εἴσω φάλαγγος, lacking in the *Hellenica*, is related to the description of the battlefield after a battle in the *Agesilaus* (2.14), also lacking in the *Hellenica*. Although the precise reason for the appearance of the clause remains obscure,[8] it clearly expresses an independent step in the sequence of events, one which is not part of the typical scheme. Thus, *συνελκύσαντες (...) καὶ δειπνοποιησάμενοι ἐκοιμήθησαν would have resulted in linking two actions that are not easily combined from an informational point of view, which *a fortiori* applies to *δειπνοποιησάμενοι καὶ συνελκύσαντες (...) ἐκοιμήθησαν, as this order would not mirror the order of Real World events.[9] Therefore, things could hardly have been articulated in a different manner.

*Agesilaus* 2.15 shows how linking and hierarchy are involved in the choice between alternative ways of expressing actions (note that ἐδειπνοποιήσαντο καὶ ἐκοιμήθησαν here together build up the set of actions typically found at the closure of a discourse segment). Yet other options are available. If we consider the possible combinations of (preposed) participles and finite verbs, three actions may be expressed in one sentence in the following ways:

[8] It depends on whether we accept the words τῶν πολεμίων, transmitted by the manuscripts but regarded by some scholars as problematic (τῶν πολ. del. Schneider, ἐκ τῶν πολ. Weiske, τῶν ἀπολομένων Jacobs). If we do not, the reason for the presence of the clause might be that once we have been told that bodies lay all around, it might be taken as an offence against Greek religion to leave them there during the night. But if we do accept the manuscript reading, which we should, the clause is there to highlight Agesilaus's behavior in accordance with Xenophon's encomiastic goal.

[9] The action 'taking dinner' occupies the front position only when actions belonging to the evening routines of military warfare are involved; cf. [j]-[m].

*Figure 2: Combinations of three actions expressed by (preposed) participles and finite verbs*

1. FINITE VERB *καὶ* FINITE VERB *καὶ* FINITE VERB
2. PARTICIPIAL CLAUSE + FINITE VERB *καὶ* FINITE VERB
3. FINITE VERB *καὶ* PARTICIPIAL CLAUSE + FINITE VERB
4. PARTICIPIAL CLAUSE *καὶ* PARTICIPIAL CLAUSE + FINITE VERB
5. PARTICIPIAL CLAUSE + PARTICIPIAL CLAUSE + FINITE VERB

Option 1 attributes equal status to the three actions, which is, for the reasons mentioned above, uncalled for in *Agesilaus* 2.15, as is linking the first two actions and setting them off from the third (option 4), or refraining from linking and expressing the three actions as three individual and informationally autonomous successive steps in the narrative sequence, giving the first two actions the same, yet lower hierarchical status with respect to the last (option 5). Only option 3 seems to be a real alternative for the one Xenophon has actually chosen. Yet this option is not viable here since such a sequence would have presented the action 'dragging' and the action 'going to sleep' as equally important steps in the organization of the development of the narrative. Now that a discourse segment is closed off, the action 'dragging the bodies' is not on a par with the action 'going to sleep', around which the action sequence within a larger whole is thematically organized.

Option 3 is in fact found in [o]. Here, *ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον* and *ἐκοιμήθησαν* are linked on the same hierarchical level by *καί*, with the 'taking dinner' hierarchically downgraded to a participial clause in the second half of the set. Although the action 'going back to the camp' could have been expressed by a participle (**ἀπελθόντες ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον*), Xenophon's decision not to do so seems to be motivated by the fact that this action involves a relocation important enough for the development of the narrative to warrant a finite verb (*ἀπῆλθον*).

Example [p], finally, is the most complicated one, and different from the rest. It consists of five actions, expressed by a present participle and an aorist participle linked by *καί* preceding an imperfect finite main verb; this main verb is linked by a second *καί* to

the aorist finite main verb ἐκοιμήθησαν, which is preceded by one aorist participle. Whether a present stem or an aorist stem is used, we are dealing with sequential actions, for the actions 'going away', 'attending to things', 'taking dinner', 'stationing sentinels' and 'going to sleep' are not likely to overlap temporally. Therefore, irrespective of the clause type used, the order in which these are presented mirrors Real World chronology. One might compare the participial clause ἀπιόντες to the finite verb ἀπῆλθον of [o], but no major relocation is at issue. As it is used without an argument indicating the destination, ἀπιόντες indicates an unspecific movement (*viz.*, that they left the spot last mentioned) and has as sole function to provide the reader/hearer with the information necessary to keep track of the narrative situation (note that the more 'fact-evoking' ἀπελθόντες could have been used alternatively). The other actions expressed are again precisely those actions one would expect at the end of day, and, accordingly, of the discourse segment: 'attending to things', 'taking dinner', 'stationing sentinels', and 'going to sleep'. Further, the choice of a finite verb, and the imperfect in particular, asks for an explanation. There seems to be no specific reason for breaking up into sets a sequence of actions that are all part of the end-of-day scheme. In this respect it would make less difference if ἐδειπνοποιοῦντο were replaced with δειπνοποιησάμενοι, which would hierarchically downgrade the action 'taking dinner' so that it would be paired to the other actions with which it is informationally on a par. From the point of view of information processing, however, a sentence consisting of five actions, four of which are linked by καί, would put too much strain on the audience's span of attention, a limiting factor in sentence production. Xenophon, I suspect, broke up the sentence for the benefit of the reader/hearer by using a finite verb as a pause before expressing the action 'going to sleep'. Seen in this light, the choice of the imperfect is self-evident: given the bridging function of the finite verb between thematically interrelated actions, the choice of the imperfect avoids the impression that the end of the sequence has already been reached.

The difference between an (aorist) participial clause and an independent finite verb is a difference in hierarchy. In [a] through [p], the finite main verb ἐκοιμήθησαν invariably closes off the sequence of a certain day's events. It is the action 'they went to sleep' towards which the action sequences are organized. The action expressed by a finite main verb primarily contributes to the thematic organization of

the text, in that this verb provides the most basic building block of the narrative. This is most conspicuous in examples [a] through [c], where the action sequence closes off with ἐκοιμήθησαν without expression of further actions. If, however, every narrative sequence were narrated in this way, the text would lose its *texture*: there would be no 'relief', so to speak, because the actions constituting the structural backbone would not be distinguished from the surrounding material. At this point, the preposed participial clauses come in. In all instances in the corpus where a sequence consists of one or more preposed participles and is closed off by the single finite main verb ἐκοιμήθησαν which expresses the central action ([d] through [m]), the information status of the preceding actions is low; the participles express actions that belong to the routine of military warfare, or the participle is resumptive (either by summary, as in [d], or by restatement, as in [h]). Sometimes the narrator uses more than one finite main verb in the sequence ([n] through [p]). In [o] and [p] he breaks up the sequence in parts in order to prevent the readers from losing grip on the narrative sequence. In the corpus, example [n] (= [2]) stands out. In *Agesilaus* 2.15 the aorist conjunct participial clause συνελκύσαντες τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων νεκροὺς εἴσω φάλαγγος expresses an action that, in its context, has high information status; the action is rather unexpected and of significance for the picture of Agesilaus that Xenophon is creating in his encomium. The thematic structure of the set end-of-day scheme, however, is preserved by the finite main verbs ἐδειπνοποιήσαντο καὶ ἐκοιμήθησαν; as a result of this, the action 'they took dinner' is expressed by a finite main verb here, linked by καί on the appropriate hierarchical level, so as to create a set of structural elements (ἐδειπνοποιήσαντο καὶ ἐκοιμήθησαν) that is linguistically distinguished from the surrounding information (συνελκύσαντες ...). *Agesilaus* 2.15 ([n] = [2]) is comparable to yet different from *Hellenica* 4.3.20 ([e] = [1]), where the participle δειπνοποιησάμενοι is used merely to express an action of rather low information status before the finite main verb ἐκοιμήθησαν closes off the sequence as a structural building block in the thematic organization of two adjacent discourse units. We conclude that an action may be hierarchically upgraded (or downgraded, if we take the *Agesilaus*-passage as our point of departure) for reasons pertaining to the needs of a specific context.

Subclauses are absent among the comparable means of clause combining in this corpus. This is significant and points in the direction of a position where, contrary to what often is thought and taught, we should regard subclauses as a substantially different category in clause combining as far as the organization of narrative discourse is concerned. In the next NMP we will consider the alternation of a (present stem) conjunct participial clause and a (present stem) subclause (**ἐπεί**-clause).

### 2 *NMP 2:* Anabasis *6.2.13-15 vs.* Hellenica *2.4.10-11*

| [3] *Anabasis* 6.2.13-15 | [4] *Hellenica* 2.4.10-11 |
|---|---|
| *Ξενοφῶν μέντοι ἐβούλετο κοινῇ †μετ᾽ αὐτῶν† τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι, νομίζων οὕτως ἀσφαλεστέραν εἶναι ἢ ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστον στέλλεσθαι· ἀλλὰ Νέων ἔπειθεν αὐτὸν καθ᾽ αὑτὸν πορεύεσθαι, ἀκούσας τοῦ Χειρισόφου ὅτι Κλέανδρος ὁ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἁρμοστὴς φαίη τριήρεις ἔχων ἥξειν εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα· ὅπως οὖν μηδεὶς μετάσχοι, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ αὐτῶν στρατιῶται ἐκπλεύσειαν ἐπὶ τῶν τριήρων, διὰ ταῦτα συνεβούλευε. καὶ Χειρίσοφος, ἅμα μὲν ἀθυμῶν τοῖς γεγενημένοις, ἅμα δὲ μισῶν ἐκ τούτου τὸ στράτευμα, ἐπιτρέπει αὐτῷ ποιεῖν ὅ τι βούλεται.*<br>*Ξενοφῶν δὲ* ***ἔτι μὲν ἐπεχείρησεν*** *ἀπαλλαγεὶς τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐκπλεῦσαι·* ***θυομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ ἡγεμόνι Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ κοινουμένῳ****, πότερα λῷον καὶ ἄμεινον εἴη στρατεύεσθαι ἔχοντι τοὺς παραμείναντας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἢ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, ἐσήμηνεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς συστρατεύεσθαι.*<br>Xenophon, however, was desirous of making the journey in company with Cheirisophus, believing that this was | *ἐκ δὲ τούτου λαβὼν ὁ Θρασύβουλος τοὺς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς περὶ χιλίους ἤδη συνειλεγμένους, ἀφικνεῖται τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἐπεὶ ᾔσθοντο ταῦτα, εὐθὺς ἐβοήθουν σύν τε τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὁπλίταις· ἔπειτα ἐχώρουν κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἁμαξιτὸν ἀναφέρουσαν.*<br>*οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς* ***ἔτι μὲν ἐπεχείρησαν*** *μὴ ἀνιέναι αὐτούς,* ***ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγας ὁ κύκλος ὢν πολλῆς φυλακῆς ἐδόκει δεῖσθαι οὔπω πολλοῖς οὖσι****, συνεσπειράθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Μουνιχίαν.* |

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| a safer plan than for each of them to proceed independently; but Neon urged him to go by himself—he had heard from Cheirisophus that Cleander, the Lacedaemonian governor at Byzantium, had said he was coming to Calpe Harbour with triremes; it was Neon's purpose, then, that no one else should get a share in this opportunity, but that he himself and Cheirisophus and their soldiers should sail away upon the triremes, and this was the reason for his advice to Xenophon. And Cheirisophus, he was so despondent over what had happened and, besides, felt such hatred toward the army for its action, that he allowed Neon to do whatever he chose.<br>**Xenophon, for a time, tried to** get clear of the army and sail away home; **yet in response to his sacrificing to Heracles the Leader, consulting him** as to whether it was better and more proper for him to continue the journey with such of the soldiers as had remained with him, or to be rid of them, the god indicated to him by the sacrifices that he should stay with them. | Hereafter Thrasybulus took the men of Phyle, who had now gathered to the number of about one thousand, and came by night to Piraeus. The Thirty learned of this, and so at once set out against him, with the Laconian guardsmen and their own cavalry and hoplites; then they advanced along the carriage road which leads up to Piraeus.<br>The men from Phyle, **for a time, tried to** prevent their coming up, **yet in view of the fact that the line of the town wall, extensive as it was, seemed to need a large force for its defence, whereas they were not yet numerous**, they gathered in a compact body on the hill of Munichia. |

We have two different stories this time, yet the examples show the use of a comparable construction: we have an independent main clause with an aorist stem verbal contituent in both cases. In this main clause a participant tries to do something for some time (*ἔτι μὲν ἐπεχείρησ-*); the corresponding *δέ*-member opens with a preposed (present stem) conjunct participial clause in [3] and a preposed (present stem) *ἐπεί*-clause in [4]; within the sequence as a whole the conjunct participial clause and the subclause may be seen as alternative clause types in clause combining.

In [3], the question is addressed how Xenophon, Neon, and Cheirisophus thought the journey should be continued. Neon had tried to persuade Xenophon to go by himself (*Νέων ἔπειθεν αὐτὸν καθ' αὑτὸν πορεύεσθαι*). This is indeed what Xenophon considered

doing for some time (*Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἔτι μὲν ἐπεχείρησεν ἀπαλλαγεὶς τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐκπλεῦσαι*).[10] The suggestion that he would not get clear of the army and sail away home is elaborated on in the next sentence: Heracles the Leader, whom he consulted as to whether it was better and more proper for him to continue the journey with such of the soldiers as had remained with him, or to be rid of them, indicated to him by the sacrifices that he should stay with them.

In [4], Thrasybulus takes the men of Phyle and arrives at Piraeus. A topic switch occurs: the Thirty (*οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα*) are the new topic and we are told what they did when they learned[11] of Thrasybulus's arrival: they set out to the rescue of those in Piraeus (*ἐβοήθουν*); next, they advanced along the carriage road which leads up to Piraeus (*ἐχώρουν*). As the imperfects indicate, these actions are supposed to be connected with the sequel, and the action sequence ends with the reaction of the men from Phyle (again a topic switch: *οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς*), reported by aorists: for some time they tried to prevent their coming up, but eventually they gathered in a compact body on the hill of Munichia.

In either example, the reader/hearer is informed on the basis of the lexical meaning of '*ἐπεχείρησ-*', that what is communicated here is an attempt to undertake an action (*ἀπαλλαγεὶς τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐκπλεῦσαι* and *μὴ ἀνιέναι αὐτούς*, respectively). The presence of *μέν*, on the other hand, creates the expectation that the attempt undertaken will be abandoned, to be followed by a different action. Whether the sentence containing the corresponding *δέ* opens with a (conjunct) participial clause, as in [3], or with a subclause, as in [4], the articulation by means of *μέν* … *δέ* serves the purpose of marking discourse complementation.[12] Therefore, it is implausible that the subordinate clauses, although having been preposed, perform the function of discourse segmentation here. Rather, it will be argued, the difference in syntax reflects the difference in the Real World relation that obtains between the events expressed in the two clauses of the

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[10] See Lendle (1995, 376): "Die Formulierung *ἔτι μὲν ἐπεχείρησεν* … (vgl. Hell.2.4.11) ist hier in dem Sinn zu verstehen, daß er bereits seit einer gewissen Zeit und nach wie vor erwog, das Heer zu verlassen".

[11] A subclause of the type *ἐπεὶ ᾔσθοντο ταῦτα* often indicates focalization at points where a discourse participant undertakes an action in response to an action of some other discourse participant.

[12] As opposed to transition-marking *μέν* … *δέ*; see the Index of Linguistic Terms.

clause combination. The two subordinate clauses under consideration have present stem verbal constituents. From a presentational point of view, this means that the verbal action is not independently asserted, but has to be *connected* with the verbal action of the main proposition.

In [3], an ἐπεί-clause, if at all apt to indicate the obtaining Real World relation, would have needlessly complicated participant tracking. The narrator presents the reader with information necessary for a correct understanding of the main proposition (*ἐσήμηνεν ὁ θεός*) by using the conjunct participle *θυομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ ἡγεμόνι Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ κοινουμένῳ, πότερα* ...: without the information that Xenophon offered sacrifice, the text would have been incoherent. As things stand, the dative case (*θυομένῳ* ... *αὐτῷ*) is used to express the relation obtaining in the Real World between the events expressed in the two clauses of the clause combination, *viz.*, that someone offered sacrifice and that the god responded, by filling the slot of the third complement to *ἐσήμηνεν*. At the same time, it prepares for a topic switch to *ὁ θεός*.

In [4] there is the specific contribution of the subordinator ἐπεί. In his (re-)construction of reality in the form of narrative, the speaker does several things at the same time: he records two Real World 'events'[13]: *1)* that the line of the town wall seemed to require a large force for its defence, and *2)* that the men from Phyle gathered in a compact body on the hill of Munichia, and further, by using ἐπεί, he signals that according to him a relation exists between the two events that are combined, without specifying the nature of this relation. In [4], we are presented with the speaker's evaluation of the reality situation that brings the men from Phyle—the current discourse topic—round to perform the action with which the paragraph comes to a close: '*in view of the fact that*, <to them>, the line of the town wall, extensive as it was, seemed to require a large force for its defence, whereas they were not yet numerous, they gathered in a compact body on the hill of Munichia'.

The presentation of the Real World situation in [4] by means of the subclause has the *effect* that the event expressed in the subordinate clause is relayed from the point of view of the current discourse topic, the men from Phyle. This effect is established by a combination of three factors: *1.* the order in which the topic and the present stem

[13] For the notion of 'event', see Chapter 1, Section 2.1.

subclause are presented;[14] *2.* the lexical meaning of ἐδόκει itself; *3.* the deletion of the dative phrase to ἐδόκει indicating to whom the situation seemed the case. The situation found in example [4] should therefore be interpreted as: "for some time the men from Phyle tried to prevent their coming up, but then they *realized* that the line of the town wall required a large force for its defence, and *therefore* <they gave up this attempt and> they gathered in a compact body on the hill of Munichia". Thus paraphrased, the reader/hearer still misses some essential information, *viz.*, why the fact that the line of the town wall required a large force for its defence would be a problem for the men from Phyle. The answer to this question is: <they realized that> the line of the town wall was extensive and they were not yet numerous.[15] The narrator provides his reader with this information by means of two conjunct participles inside the ἐπεί-clause (*μέγας … ὤν/οὔπω πολλοῖς οὖσι*). The information provided by these participial clauses that are part of the construction may be called 'subsidiary' to the extent that it does not belong to the main proposition, but is there to help the reader in his attempt to decode the meaning contained in the main proposition.

The major upshot of the analysis of this NMP consists in the observation that the choice between a conjunct participial clause and a subclause (ἐπεί-clause) may be determined by factors concerning the presentation of different Real World relations between the content of the subordinate clause and the content of its matrix clause. In [3] such a relation obtains, but it is different from the one in [4], in that in [3]—a situation in which one may expect a response from the god, so that a topic switch occurs (*Ξενοφῶν → ὁ θεός*)—the relation between the act of sacrificing and the answer to it is self-evident, and is primarily expressed by the dative case of the conjunct participle,

[14] Cf. Sicking, 1996: 71: "If these observations are correct, preposed PS [present stem] subclauses, apart from preparing the reader's *understanding* of the main clause, at the same time can be used for directing his *perspective*, or point of view, by making the *dramatis persona* the 'focalizer' of the events mentioned in the subclause. It will be noted that this is not a characteristic of preposed PS subclauses *as such*, but a result, or side effect, of 1. the topic of the <main clause> having been established before a subclause about a different topic comes in, and 2. PS making the subclause and the main clause into one integrated unit of information, thus bringing the *combination* of the two under the 'scope' of the topic involved."

[15] That numbers are to increase on their side is apparently to be expected, and this expectation is indeed met in the sequel; cf. *Hellenica* 2.4.11-12.

functioning as the third complement to *ἐσήμηνεν*. In [4], where the adjacent clauses of the *ἐπεί*-clause have the same subject (*οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς*), the speaker presents an evaluation of the reality situation by the participants that brings them round to perform the action presented in the matrix clause. The non-specific relator *ἐπεί* indicates that the subordinated proposition is to be *related* to the main proposition; the way the speaker presents a Real World situation in the clause combination, in combination with the linguistic means used to present the subordinated situation, has the effect that the subordinated situation is relayed from the point of view of the discourse participants. In the case of the conjunct participial clause in [3], the situation is externally focalized.

In the next NMP we will elaborate on the discussion of NMP 1 & 2, as in two comparable contexts of some length we will again encounter the alternation of an (aorist stem) conjunct participial clause and an (aorist stem) independent finite verb, as well as the alternation of a (present stem) conjunct participial clause and a (present stem) *ἐπεί*-clause.

## *3 NMP 3:* Hellenica *3.4.15-16 vs.* Agesilaus *1.19-25*

| [5] *Hellenica* 3.4.15-16 | [6] *Agesilaus* 1.19-25 |
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| | *... διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εὐθὺς πολλοὺς ἐραστὰς τῆς αὑτοῦ φιλίας ἐποιήσατο. γιγνώσκων δ' ὅτι ἡ μὲν πορθουμένη καὶ ἐρημουμένη χώρα οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο πολὺν χρόνον στράτευμα φέρειν, ἡ δ' οἰκουμένη μὲν σπειρομένη δὲ ἀέναον ἂν τὴν τροφὴν παρέχοι, ἐπεμέλετο οὐ μόνον τοῦ βίᾳ χειροῦσθαι τοὺς ἐναντίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ πρᾳότητι προσάγεσθαι. καὶ πολλάκις μὲν προηγόρευε τοῖς στρατιώταις τοὺς ἁλισκομένους μὴ ὡς ἀδίκους τιμωρεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀνθρώπους ὄντας φυλάττειν, πολλάκις δὲ ὁπότε μεταστρατοπεδεύοιτο, εἰ αἴσθοιτο καταλελειμμένα παιδάρια μικρὰ ἐμπόρων, ἃ πολλοὶ ἐπώλουν διὰ τὸ νομίζειν μὴ δύνασθαι ἂν φέρειν* |

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| | *αὐτὰ καὶ τρέφειν, ἐπεμέλετο καὶ τούτων ὅπως συγκομίζοιντό ποι. τοῖς δ' αὖ διὰ γῆρας καταλειπομένοις αἰχμαλώτοις προσέταττεν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι αὐτῶν, ὡς μήτε ὑπὸ κυνῶν μήθ' ὑπὸ λύκων διαφθείροιντο. ὥστε οὐ μόνον οἱ πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἁλισκόμενοι εὐμενεῖς αὐτῷ ἐγίγνοντο.* |
| *γενομένης δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἱππομαχίας, θυομένῳ τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπὶ προόδῳ ἄλοβα γίγνεται τὰ ἱερά. τούτου μέντοι φανέντος στρέψας ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ θάλατταν.*<br>***γιγνώσκων δὲ ὅτι*** *εἰ μὴ ἱππικὸν ἱκανὸν κτήσαιτο, οὐ δυνήσοιτο κατὰ τὰ πεδία στρατεύεσθαι, ἔγνω τοῦτο κατασκευαστέον εἶναι, ὡς μὴ δραπετεύοντα πολεμεῖν δέοι.*<br>*καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλουσιωτάτους ἐκ πασῶν τῶν ἐκεῖ πόλεων ἱπποτροφεῖν κατέλεξε·* ***προειπὼν*** *δέ, ὅστις παρέχοιτο ἵππον καὶ ὅπλα καὶ ἄνδρα δόκιμον, ὅτι ἐξέσται αὐτῷ μὴ στρατεύεσθαι,* ***ἐποίησεν*** *οὕτω ταῦτα συντόμως πράττεσθαι ὥσπερ ἄν τις τὸν ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ ἀποθανούμενον προθύμως ζητοίη.* | *ὁπόσας δὲ πόλεις προσαγάγοιτο, ἀφαιρῶν αὐτῶν ὅσα δοῦλοι δεσπόταις ὑπηρετοῦσι προσέταττεν ὅσα ἐλεύθεροι ἄρχουσι πείθονται· καὶ τῶν κατὰ κράτος ἀναλώτων τειχέων τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ ὑπὸ χεῖρα ἐποιεῖτο.*<br>***ἐπεὶ*** *μέντοι ἀνὰ τὰ πεδία οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ* ***ἐδύνατο*** *στρατεύεσθαι διὰ τὴν Φαρναβάζου ἱππείαν, ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ἱππικὸν κατασκευαστέον εἶναι, ὡς μὴ δραπετεύοντα πολεμεῖν δέοι αὐτόν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν πλουσιωτάτους ἐκ πασῶν τῶν ἐκεῖ πόλεων ἱπποτροφεῖν κατέλεξε.* ***προεῖπε*** *δέ, ὅστις παρέχοιτο ἵππον καὶ ὅπλα καὶ ἄνδρα δόκιμον, ὡς ἐξέσοιτο αὐτῷ μὴ στρατεύεσθαι·* ***καὶ ἐποίησεν*** *οὕτως ἕκαστον προθύμως ταῦτα πράττειν ὥσπερ ἄν τις τὸν ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ ἀποθανούμενον προθύμως μαστεύοι. ἔταξε δὲ καὶ πόλεις ἐξ ὧν δέοι τοὺς ἱππέας παρασκευάζειν, νομίζων ἐκ τῶν ἱπποτρόφων πόλεων εὐθὺς καὶ φρονηματίας μάλιστα ἂν ἐπὶ τῇ ἱππικῇ γενέσθαι. καὶ τοῦτ' οὖν ἀγαστῶς ἔδοξε πρᾶξαι, ὅτι κατεσκεύαστο τὸ ἱππικὸν αὐτῷ καὶ εὐθὺς ἐρρωμένον ἦν καὶ ἐνεργόν.* |
| *ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπειδὴ ἔαρ ὑπέφαινε, συνήγαγε μὲν ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα εἰς Ἔφεσον·* | *ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔαρ ὑπέφαινε, συνήγαγε πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα εἰς Ἔφεσον·*<br><br>The immediate result was that he had many ardent suitors for his friendship. Recognizing that a country plundered and depopulated could not long |

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| After this cavalry battle Agesilaus on the next day was offering sacrifices with a view to an advance, when the livers of the victims were found to be lacking a lobe. After the unexpected appearance of this sign, he turned and marched to the sea. | support an army, whereas an inhabited and cultivated land would yield inexhaustible supplies, he took pains not only to crush his enemies by force, but also to win them over by gentleness. And he would often warn his men not to punish their prisoners as criminals, but to guard them as human beings; often when shifting camp, if he noticed little children, the property of merchants, left behind—many merchants offered children for sale because they thought they would not be able to carry and feed them—he looked after them too, and had them conveyed to some place of refuge. Again, he arranged that prisoners of war who were too old to accompany the army were to be looked after, that they might not fall a prey to dogs or wolves. It thus came about that he won the goodwill not only of those who heard of these facts, but even of the prisoners themselves. In his settlement with the cities that he won over, he invariably excused them from all servile duties and required only such obedience as freemen owe to their rulers; and by his clemency he made himself master of fortresses impregnable to assault. |
| **Recognizing that**, unless he obtained an adequate cavalry force, he would not be able to campaign in the plains, he resolved that this must be provided, so that he might not have to carry on a skulking warfare. And accordingly he assigned the richest men of all the cities in that region to the duty of raising horses; **by proclaiming** that whoever supplied a horse and arms and a competent man would not have to serve himself, **he caused** these arrangements to be carried out with all the expedition that was to be expected when men | **In view of the fact, however, that** he was not able to campaign in the plains even in Phrygia, owing to Pharnabazus' cavalry, he decided that a cavalry force must be provided, so that he might not have to carry on a skulking warfare. He therefore assigned the richest men of all the cities in that region to the duty of raising horses; further, **he proclaimed** that whoever supplied a horse and arms and a competent man would not have to serve himself; **and** in this way **he caused** that every one of them carried out these requirements with |

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| were eagerly looking for substitutes to die in their stead. | the zeal of a man in quest of a substitute to die in his stead.<br>He also specified cities that were to furnish contingents of cavalry, feeling sure that from the horsebreeding cities riders proud of their horsemanship would be forthcoming. This again was considered an admirable stroke on his part, that no sooner had he raised his cavalry than it became a powerful body ready for action. |
| After this, at the first sign of spring, he gathered his whole army at Ephesus. | At the first sign of spring he gathered his whole army at Ephesus. |

In these two parallel passages from the *Hellenica* and the *Agesilaus* the same Real World situation is described. The passage that will be considered in detail deals with the subject of the raising of a mounted force by Agesilaus. The same Real World experience has been transformed into text in a different manner in the two passages, both with respect to the amount of information that is conveyed and the linguistic means that are used to articulate the text.

It is important to remember that the *Hellenica* and the *Agesilaus* are of a different text type: they are a historical narrative and an encomium, respectively. In the *Hellenica*, the raising of a mounted force is described as part of an ongoing narrative sequence. The corresponding passage in the *Agesilaus* is part of a differently planned piece of discourse. Sections 1.6-2.31 of the encomium are dedicated to the actions (ἔργα) of Agesilaus's reign[16] covering more than half of the text. In his account of Agesilaus's actions, Xenophon uses narrative episodes to illustrate Agesilaus's qualities as a general, for, he says, *I believe that his deeds will throw the clearest light on his qualities*.[17] He has

[16] The opening and closure of this part of the text are marked: 1.6: ὅσα γε μὴν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διεπράξατο νῦν ἤδη διηγήσομαι ('I will now give a narrative of the achievements of his reign') … 3.1: καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ εἴρηται ὅσα τῶν ἐκείνου ἔργων μετὰ πλείστων μαρτύρων ἐπράχθη ('such, then, is the record of my hero's deeds, so far as they were done before a crowd of witnesses'). Similarly, the opening and closure of the account of Agesilaus's activities in Asia are marked: 1.10: ἐν τοίνυν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἥδε πρώτη πρᾶξις ἐγένετο ('well, his first act in Asia was the following') … 1.38: τῶν μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πράξεων τοῦτο τέλος ἐγένετο ('this then was the end of his activities in Asia').

[17] *Agesilaus* 1.6: ὅσα γε μὴν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διεπράξατο νῦν ἤδη διηγήσομαι· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τοὺς τρόπους αὐτοῦ κάλλιστα νομίζω καταδήλους ἔσεσθαι.

chosen the form of narrative, for *how could one give a clearer impression of what kind of general he was than by narrating the things he did?*[18] The *Agesilaus* on the whole might be regarded as 'behavioral discourse', albeit with narrative chunks interwoven in the account of the hero's actions:[19] the text is agent oriented, and Agesilaus's actions are narrated in chronological order, yet narrative episodes are presented in 'blocks', that are selected for the purpose of eulogy. It is clearly the speaker who presents the narrative episodes as examples: he is, explicitly or implicitly, present throughout the text,[20] often commenting upon the actions by giving an evaluative statement. It is therefore to be expected that the linguistic and informational differences in the corresponding passage are linked up with the difference in the constitution of these texts.

The text preceding the corresponding passage is not comparable. In the *Hellenica*, when Xenophon writes ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ θάλατταν, it should be understood that this is in the direction of Ephesus, towards his winter headquarters. Ephesus is, indeed, the location in 3.4.16. On the level of text articulation, a new text segment is started with the conjunct participial clause γιγνώσκων δέ ...; this text segment is closely bound up with the preceding one within a larger, thematically coherent whole: the raising of the mounted force fits into the on-going sequence of retreat and marching to Ephesus. In the *Agesilaus*, the passage under consideration is preceded by a large episode on Agesilaus's conduct towards others in warfare, meant to illustrate his φιλανθρωπία.[21] With the clause ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἀνὰ τὰ πεδία οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ

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[18] *Agesilaus* 1.9: ...πῶς ἂν τις σαφέστερον ἐπιδείξειεν ὡς ἐστρατήγησεν ἢ εἰ αὐτὰ διηγήσαιτο ἃ ἔπραξεν;

[19] For a characterization of discourse types, see Longacre, 1983.

[20] Cf. in the present passage: (1): δέοι αὐτόν (*Agesilaus*) vs. δέοι (*Hellenica*): the rather superfluous αὐτόν indicates that the speaker is talking about Agesilaus; (2): ὡς ἐξέσοιτο (*Agesilaus*) vs. ὅτι ἐξέσται (*Hellenica*): by using the indicative in indirect discourse the author renders the quotation *verbatim*, wheras the optative is used when the speaker integrates the quotation into his narration (Cf. Goodwin, 1897, 261 (670): SIMPLE SENTENCES IN INDIRECT DISCOURSE: Indicative and Optative after ὅτι and ὡς and in Indirect Questions: "after past tenses the indicative and optative are in equally good use; the optative being used when the writer incorporates the quotation entirely into his own sentence, and the indicative when he quotes it in the original words as far as his own construction allows").

[21] In the clause ὁπόσας δὲ πόλεις προσαγάγοιτο, the aorist optative illustrates that the present stem is not compulsory for so-called 'distributive' actions. The aorist is used because every constituent in the clause, including the verbal constituent with high information status, has focus function. While both the underlying discourse topic

*Φρυγίᾳ ἐδύνατο στρατεύεσθαι διὰ τὴν Φαρναβάζου ἱππείαν*, Xenophon returns to the *narrative line* he abandoned in 1.16: *ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ Καρίαν ἰέναι εὐθὺς ἀντιστρέψας ἐπὶ Φρυγίας ἐπορεύετο· καὶ τάς τε ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ ἀπαντώσας δυνάμεις ἀναλαμβάνων ἦγε καὶ τὰς πόλεις κατεστρέφετο καὶ ἐμβαλὼν ἀπροσδοκήτως παμπληθῆ χρήματα ἔλαβε*[22] ('but instead of marching on Caria, Agesilaus forthwith turned round and made for Phrygia. Picking up the various forces that met him on the route, he proceeded to reduce the cities and captured a vast quantity of booty by sudden attacks'). It is followed by an evaluative section, starting in 1.17 with *στρατηγικὸν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο ἐδόκει διαπράξασθαι, ὅτι ἐπεὶ πόλεμος προερρήθη καὶ τὸ ἐξαπατᾶν ὅσιόν τε καὶ δίκαιον ἐξ ἐκείνου ἐγένετο, παῖδα ἀπέδειξε τὸν Τισσαφέρνην τῇ ἀπάτῃ, φρονίμως δὲ καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐνταῦθα ἔδοξε πλουτίσαι* ('this achievement also was thought to be a proof of sound generalship, that when war was declared and cozening in consequence became righteous and fair dealing, he showed Tissaphernes to be a child at deception. It was thought, too, that he made shrewd use of this occasion to enrich his friends'), which in its turn is followed by the behavioral units 1.18 (*ἐπεὶ γάρ*)—22 on his *φιλανθρωπία*.

The *ἐπεὶ μέντοι*-clause presents us with a problematic situation for Agesilaus: a campaign in the plains was impossible even in Phrygia, owing to Pharnabazus' cavalry. This contrasts sharply with the prosperous situation resulting from Agesilaus's praiseworthy behavior we are presented with in §§18-22. The particle *μέντοι* signals that this problematic situation is unexpected, for both Agesilaus himself (hence his decision at that point to raise a mounted force) and the reader/hearer, with respect to the preceding episode. The unexpected, problematic situation, then, is directly related to Agesilaus's reaction to this situation by means of *ἐπεί*, which indicates

'Agesilaus's praiseworthy conduct towards others in warfare' and the discourse sub-topic 'not harming enemies' are continued, a transition is made from his behavior towards human adversaries to his behavior towards cities. The following sentence, connected to the first by *καί*, elaborates on this by referring to fortresses. Before abandoning the current discourse topic, in the final sentence of this episode (*καὶ τῶν κατὰ κράτος ἀναλώτων τειχέων τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ ὑπὸ χεῖρα ἐποιεῖτο*), Xenophon explicitly refers to what he had been demonstrating for several units: Agesilaus's *φιλανθρωπία*.

[22] On the functional choice of the aorist here where the parallel passage in the *Hellenica* reads *ἐλάμβανε*, see Buijs, unpublished.

a relation between the two propositions in the Real World. Agesilaus's decision to raise a mounted force, however, is easily understood in view of this situation.

The first set of clause combinations to be compared are *γιγνώσκων δὲ ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἱππικὸν ἱκανὸν κτήσαιτο, οὐ δυνήσοιτο κατὰ τὰ πεδία στρατεύεσθαι, ἔγνω τοῦτο κατασκευαστέον εἶναι, ὡς μὴ δραπετεύοντα πολεμεῖν δέοι* in the *Hellenica* and *ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἀνὰ τὰ πεδία οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ ἐδύνατο στρατεύεσθαι διὰ τὴν Φαρναβάζου ἱππείαν, ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ἱππικὸν κατασκευαστέον εἶναι, ὡς μὴ δραπετεύοντα πολεμεῖν δέοι αὐτόν* in the *Agesilaus*. We have to start with the observation that the *ἐπεί*-clause in the *Agesilaus* seems to present a more extensive version of the situation expressed by the *γιγνώσκων*-clause, in that it contains one piece of information lacking in the *Hellenica*, *viz.*, *διὰ τὴν Φαρναβάζου ἱππείαν*. Its counterpart in the *Hellenica* would be the adjective '*ἱκανόν*', which can be fully appreciated only in the light of the *Agesilaus*-passage, as Pharnabazus is not mentioned in this episode in the *Hellenica*.[23] The heavy processing load in the *Agesilaus* may have lead the narrator to use a finite (*ἐπεί*-)clause, not a participle. Further, the Real World situations presented in the two passages are relayed from different points of view: if the two locutions are analysed on the sentence level, we can observe that in the *Hellenica* Xenophon presents us with an *internal consideration* on the part of Agesilaus (*γιγνώσκων*), which leads to a *resolution* (*ἔγνω*); that in the *Agesilaus* on the other hand Xenophon presents us with an *assertion* (*ἀνὰ τὰ πεδία οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ ἐδύνατο στρατεύεσθαι διὰ τὴν Φαρναβάζου ἱππείαν*), which is presented as the *motivation* for the *decision* that follows (*ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ*). While in both passages Agesilaus functions as the focalizer, the turn *γιγνώσκων … ἔγνω* is an instance of internal focalization, whereas the turn *ἐπεὶ μέντοι … οὐδέ … ἐδύνατο στρατεύεσθαι … ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ* is indicative of external focalization, i.e. on the part of the *laudator*. By virtue of the imperfect *ἐδύνατο* and the non-specific relator *ἐπεί* indicating a Real World relation obtaining between the content of the subordinate clause and the content of its matrix clause, the speaker presents a reality situation that brings a participant round to perform

[23] The question which passage was written first is much disputed, and goes beyond the scope of this study.

the action presented in the matrix clause.[24] What is more is that this is in line with the aims of the writer of the encomium: in the *Agesilaus*, we are presented with a picture of Agesilaus, who in the light of his evaluation of the Real World situation makes a cunning decision.

Then a narrative sequence describes how the mounted force was raised. This part of the text is marked by *οὖν* in the *Agesilaus* in order to set it off from the introductory sentence *ἐπεὶ μέντοι … δέοι αὐτόν*, with which a return to the narrative sequence was achieved. The particle signals that at this point we have been provided with enough introductory information to be prepared to pass over to the speaker's main point, i.e. presenting the things Agesilaus did to achieve his goal as an illustration of his qualities—which gives the writer of the encomium the opportunity to portray his hero as an outstanding general.

Comparing the two passages that describe the raising of a mounted force, we may claim that the difference in linguistic devices used within the NMP is to be explained by the speaker's need to accommodate the two passages on the raising of a mounted force to their respective contexts. The comparison of these two passages from the *Hellenica* and the *Agesilaus* brings to light that the choice among apparently alternative ways of expressing oneself in Ancient Greek is dependent upon the *communicative aims* the speaker has in mind, which are, in their turn, dependent on the *context*, and the *text type* they are used in. In this respect, a choice of the other alternative would not have been ungrammatical, but would have resulted in a different kind of communication. *Προειπὼν δέ … ἐποίησεν οὕτω* and *προεῖπε δέ … καὶ ἐποίησεν οὕτως* in the above texts are cases in point: if a Greek speaker wants to convey: 'he issued a proclamation …' and 'in this way he brought it about that …' he has several options at his disposal (we can easily think of other alternatives). We are inclined to *translate* the participial clause-option by 'by proclaiming' and the two finite verbs by two finite verbs, but this is not the point here.[25]

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[24] Cf. *ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγας ὁ κύκλος ὢν πολλῆς φυλακῆς ἐδόκει δεῖσθαι οὔπω πολλοῖς οὖσι, συνεσπειράθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Μουνιχίαν* in NMP 2.

[25] In the clause combination *προειπών … ἐποίησεν οὕτω* the participial clause would be an example of what has been called 'coincident' use (cf. Rijksbaron, 2002[3]: 125: "the participle, while expressing a completed state of affairs, is not anterior to the main verb, but coincides with it"). The introduction of this extra category is necessary only if one believes that "the aorist stem signifies that a state of affairs is completed" (Rijksbaron, 2002[3]: 1) and that "the value [completed] of the aorist stem may serve to

If we want to know the difference between alternative clause types, we will have to look at exactly what the speaker is doing when he uses the expressions: in the *Hellenica*, a short version of the 'raising of a mounted force' is inserted in an on-going narrative episode, where there is a relatively high degree of continuity as the speaker moves onward from the point when Agesilaus left for Ephesus to the point where he is at Ephesus. Following on ἔγνω, we find an elaboration (καί) in which three statements are presented by means of a μέν … δέ-sequence: we have an aorist finite (main) verb in the μέν-member, whereas the δέ-member consists of two clauses, with grammatical embedding of the first (προειπών … ἐποίησεν). In the *Agesilaus*-passage, the three verbal constituents that describe actions performed by Agesilaus are expressed by three finite verbs balanced by μέν … δέ … δέ (μέν … κατέλεξε … προεῖπε δέ … ἔταξε δέ); within this sequence of actions performed by Agesilaus, ἐποίησεν οὕτως … has a different status: it elaborates on the προεῖπε δέ-sentence in describing Xenophon's evaluation of Agesilaus's action and is therefore connected to it by καί. The final sentence of this sequence (καὶ τοῦτ' οὖν ἀγαστῶς ἔδοξε πρᾶξαι, ὅτι …) is again connected to the preceding by καί since, again, an evaluative sentence is added to the sequence of actions performed by Agesilaus (note the evaluative term ἀγαστῶς); at the same time, it closes off this sequence with linguistic marking (οὖν: final concluding remark), and lexical overlap where the topic of the unit is concerned (ἱππικὸν κατασκευαστέον εἶναι … κατεσκεύαστο τὸ ἱππικόν). The part of the text about how Agesilaus raised a mounted force differs from the *Hellenica*-passage considerably in that, although the *erzählte Zeit* is the same, the *Erzählzeit* of the *Agesilaus* surpasses the *Erzählzeit* of the *Hellenica* (ἔταξε δὲ καί … καὶ ἐνεργόν is lacking in the *Hellenica*). In accordance with his aims as defined in I.6 and I.9, the laudator highlights Agesilaus's actions by expressing them all by means of aorist finite verbs in a μέν (οὖν) … δέ … δέ-sequence, adding his commentary in sentences opened by καί, twice. By virtue of the fact that the decisions made by Agesilaus are all presented by finite main

express the anteriority of one state of affairs to another" (Rijksbaron, 2002$^3$: 2). It seems preferable to bring the different descriptions of the aorist participle together under one heading and use the general description that the aorist participle is used to express an informationally autonomous action (either in sequence or not), comparable to a finite verb (cf. *Agesilaus* προεῖπε … καὶ ἐποίησεν).

verbs, the actions are presented as of high importance to the structure of the text.

In the shortened version of the event sequence in the *Hellenica*, Xenophon is not so much concerned with the actions performed by Agesilaus as he is with the creation of historical narrative. The action of 'proclaiming', expressed by a conjunct participle (προειπών), is hierarchically downgraded, to the effect that the event sequence is closed off by the aorist ἐποίησεν giving the lowdown: Agesilaus's actual achievement.

If anything, the discussion of this NMP reveals that historiographic narrative and encomiastic prose with narrative sequences performing the function of illustrations, are two different text types demanding different techniques and involving different choices among alternatives. Even when the same reality situation is described in two texts, these texts may be constituted differently, and the very same action may be expressed in a different linguistic manner. Every choice, whether between a conjunct (present stem) participle and a (present stem) ἐπεί-clause, or between an (aorist stem) conjunct participle and an (aorist stem) main finite verb, turns out to be motivated by the specific demands of the context at the point where the choice is to be made. In the case of the participial clause vs. the ἐπεί-clause, contextually motivated demands such as linkage to the preceding episode at a point of text segmentation, the amount of information to be conveyed, as well as the desirability of specifying (or not) a conceivable Real World relation appeared to operate on the choice between the available alternatives. In the case of the conjunct participle vs. the main finite verb, the choice is determined by the way in which the action under consideration contributes to the structure of a passage as a whole. The backbone of a passage is presented by the finite verbs, while a participle may be used when the action is less central to the structure.

## 4 *NMP 4:* Agesilaus *1.38-2.2 vs.* Hellenica *4.2.4-8 & 4.3.1-4*

| [7] *Agesilaus* 1.38-2.2 | [8] *Hellenica* 4.2.4-8 & 4.3.1-4 |
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| *τοιγαροῦν οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἕλληνες οὐχ ὡς ἄρχοντος μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς πατρὸς καὶ ἑταίρου ἀπιόντος αὐτοῦ ἐλυποῦντο. καὶ τέλος ἐδήλωσαν ὅτι οὐ πλαστὴν τὴν φιλίαν παρείχοντο. ἐθελούσιοι γοῦν αὐτῷ συνεβοήθησαν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι, καὶ ταῦτα εἰδότες ὅτι οὐ χείροσιν ἑαυτῶν δεήσοι μάχεσθαι. τῶν μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πράξεων τοῦτο τέλος ἐγένετο.* | *ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα πολλοὶ μὲν ἐδάκρυσαν, πάντες δ' ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν μετ' Ἀγησιλάου τῇ Λακεδαίμονι· εἰ δὲ καλῶς τἀκεῖ γένοιτο, λαβόντες αὐτὸν πάλιν ἥκειν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν δὴ συνεσκευάζοντο ὡς ἀκολουθήσοντες. ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος ἐν μὲν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ κατέλιπεν Εὔξενον ἁρμοστὴν καὶ φρουροὺς παρ' αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔλαττον τετρακισχιλίων, ἵνα δύναιτο διασῴζειν τὰς πόλεις· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁρῶν ὅτι οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν μένειν ἐπεθύμουν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐφ' Ἕλληνας στρατεύεσθαι, βουλόμενος ὡς βελτίστους καὶ πλείστους ἄγειν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἆθλα προὔθηκε ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἥτις ἄριστον στράτευμα πέμποι, καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων τοῖς λοχαγοῖς, ὅστις εὐοπλότατον λόχον ἔχων συστρατεύοιτο καὶ ὁπλιτῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν καὶ πελταστῶν. προεῖπε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἱππάρχοις, ὅστις εὐιπποτάτην καὶ εὐοπλοτάτην τάξιν παρέχοιτο, ὡς καὶ τούτοις νικητήριον δώσων. τὴν δὲ κρίσιν ἔφη ποιήσειν, ἐπεὶ διαβαίησαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐν Χερρονήσῳ, ὅπως εὖ εἰδείησαν ὅτι τοὺς στρατευομένους δεῖ εὐκρινεῖν. ἦν δὲ τὰ ἆθλα τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα ὅπλα ἐκπεπονημένα εἰς κόσμον καὶ ὁπλιτικὰ καὶ ἱππικά· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ στέφανοι χρυσοῖ· τὰ δὲ πάντα ἆθλα οὐκ ἔλαττον ἐγένοντο ἢ ἀπὸ τεττάρων ταλάντων. τοσούτων μέντοι ἀναλωθέντων, παμπόλλων χρημάτων ὅπλα εἰς τὴν στρατιὰν κατεσκευάσθη.* |

[26] *ὑφίκετο* A : corr. D m. 2.

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| ***διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον*** <br><br> *ἐπορεύετο διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐθνῶν ὧνπερ ὁ Πέρσης τῷ παμπληθεῖ στόλῳ· καὶ ἣν ἐνιαυσίαν ὁδὸν ὁ βάρβαρος ἐποιήσατο, ταύτην μεῖον ἢ ἐν μηνὶ καθήνυσεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος. οὐ γὰρ ὡς ὑστερήσειε τῆς πατρίδος προεθυμεῖτο.* | ***ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβη τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον**, κριταὶ κατέστησαν Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν Μένασκος καὶ Ἡριππίδας καὶ Ὄρσιππος, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων εἷς ἀπὸ πόλεως. καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μέν, ἐπεὶ τὴν κρίσιν ἐποίησεν, ἔχων τὸ στράτευμα ἐπορεύετο τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἥνπερ βασιλεὺς ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐστράτευεν.* |
| | (…)[28] <br> *ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος σπεύδων μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐβοήθει·* <br> *ὄντι δ' αὐτῷ ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει ἀγγέλλει Δερκυλίδας ὅτι νικῷέν τε αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ αὐτῶν μὲν τεθνάναι ὀκτώ, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων παμπλήθεις· ἐδήλου δὲ ὅτι καὶ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ὀλίγοι πεπτωκότες εἶεν. ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου· Ἆρ' ἄν, ὦ Δερκυλίδα, ἐν καιρῷ γένοιτο, εἰ αἱ συμπέμπουσαι πόλεις ἡμῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας τὴν νίκην ὡς τάχιστα πύθοιντο; ἀπεκρίνατο δὴ ὁ Δερκυλίδας· Εὐθυμοτέρους γοῦν εἰκὸς ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντας εἶναι. Οὐκοῦν σύ, ἐπεὶ παρεγένου, κάλλιστα ἂν ἀπαγγείλαις; ὁ δὲ ἄσμενος ἀκούσας, καὶ γὰρ ἀεὶ φιλαπόδημος ἦν, εἶπεν· Εἰ σὺ τάττοις. Ἀλλὰ τάττω, ἔφη, καὶ προσαπαγγέλλειν γε κελεύω ὅτι ἐὰν καὶ τάδε εὖ γένηται, πάλιν παρεσόμεθα, ὥσπερ καὶ ἔφαμεν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Δερκυλίδας ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου πρῶτον ἐπορεύετο·* |
| ***ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξαμείψας Μακεδονίαν εἰς Θετταλίαν ἀφίκετο**,*[26] <br> *Λαρισαῖοι μὲν καὶ Κραννώνιοι καὶ Σκοτουσσαῖοι καὶ Φαρσάλιοι σύμμαχοι ὄντες Βοιωτοῖς, καὶ πάντες δὲ Θετταλοὶ πλὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν φυγάδες τότε ὄντες* | ***ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος διαλλάξας Μακεδονίαν εἰς Θετταλίαν ἀφίκετο.*** <br> *Λαρισαῖοι μὲν οὖν καὶ Κραννώνιοι καὶ Σκοτουσσαῖοι καὶ Φαρσάλιοι σύμμαχοι ὄντες Βοιωτοῖς, καὶ πάντες δὲ Θετταλοί, πλὴν ὅσοι* |

[27] *οὗτοι* A : ex Hell corr. Richards, *αὐτῷ* H. Sauppe.
[28] 4.2.9 *ἐν δὲ τούτῳ* … 4.2.23 *καὶ αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἡ μάχη οὕτως ἐγένετο.*

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| *ἐτύγχανον, ἐκακούργουν αὐτὸν*[27] *ἐφεπόμενοι. ὁ δὲ τέως μὲν ἦγεν ἐν πλαισίῳ τὸ στράτευμα, …* <br><br> Therefore the Greeks in Asia mourned his departure as though they were bidding farewell not merely to a ruler, but to a father or a comrade. And at the end they showed that their affection was unfeigned. At any rate they went with him voluntarily to aid Sparta, knowing as they did that they must meet an enemy not inferior to themselves. This then was the end of his activities | *αὐτῶν φυγάδες τότ' ἐτύγχανον, ἐκακούργουν αὐτὸν ἐπακολουθοῦντες. ὁ δὲ τέως μὲν ἦγεν ἐν πλαισίῳ τὸ στράτευμα, …* Upon hearing this many burst into tears, but they all voted to go with Agesilaus to the aid of Lacedaemon, resolved, if matters there should turn out successfully, to bring him back again with them to Asia. And they made preparations to follow with him. As for Agesilaus, he left behind him in Asia Euxenus as governor, and with him a garrison of not less than four thousand men, so that he could keep the cities safe; and seeing that most of his own soldiers were more desirous of remaining than of undertaking a campaign against Greeks, in the desire to lead with him the best men and as many as possible he offered prizes to the cities, for the one which should send the best force, and to the captains of the mercenaries, for the one who should join the expedition with the best equipped company of hoplites, of bowmen, and of peltasts. He likewise announced to the commanders of cavalry that he would also give a prize of victory to the one who should furnish the best mounted and best equipped battalion. And he said that he would make the decision in the Chersonese, upon their crossing from Asia to Europe, his purpose being to let them understand thoroughly that they must select their troops with care. As for the prizes, most of them were beautifully wrought arms, both for hoplites and for horsemen; there were also wreaths of gold, and the prizes all told cost not less than four talents. As a result, however, of the expending of this sum, arms worth a vast sum of money were provided for |

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| in Asia. | the army. |
| **Having crossed the Hellespont** he passed through the very same tribes as the Persian king with his mighty host; and the distance that had been traversed by the barbarian in a year was covered by Agesilaus in less than a month. For he had no intention of arriving too late to aid his fatherland. | **When he had crossed the Hellespont,** Menascus, Herippidas, and Orsippus were appointed as judges from the side of the Lacedaemonians, and from that of the allies one from each city. And Agesilaus, when he had made the decision, marched on with his army by the same route which the Persian king followed in the time when he made his expedition against Greece.<br>(…)<br>Agesilaus hurried from Asia to the rescue; he was at Amphipolis, when Dercylidas brought him word that this time the Lacedaemonians were victorious, and that only eight of them had been killed, but of the enemy a vast number; he made it known to him that not a few of the allies of the Lacedaemonians had also fallen. Agesilaus asked: "Would it not be advantageous, Dercylidas, if the cities which are sending their troops with us should learn of the victory as speedily as possible?", and Dercylidas replied: "It is certainly likely that they would be in better spirits if they heard of this". "Then are not you the man who could report it best, inasmuch as you were present at the battle?" Dercylidas, glad to hear this, for he was always fond of travel, replied: "If you should so order". "Well, I do", said Agesilaus, "and I bid you announce, further, that if the present undertaking also turns out well, we shall come back again, even as we said". Dercylidas set out at once for the Hellespont. |
| **When—having passed through Macedonia—he arrived in Thessaly**, the Larisaeans, Crannonians, Scotussaeans, and Pharsalians, who were allies of the Boeotians, and in | Agesilaus, **having passed through Macedonia, arrived in Thessaly**. The Larisaeans, Crannonians, Scotussaeans, and Pharsalians, who were allies of the Boeotians, and in |

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| fact all the Thessalians except those of them who chanced at that time to be exiles, followed at his heels and molested him. For a time he led the army in a hollow square, … | fact all the Thessalians except those of them who chanced at that time to be exiles, followed after him and molested him. For a time he led the army in a hollow square, … |

Several pieces of information found in the diegetic passage from Xenophon's encomium *Agesilaus* 1.38-2.2 are also encountered in his *Hellenica*, albeit in a differently organized (narrative) setting. In this Section, special attention will be paid to two subordinate clauses in the *Agesilaus* which contain information that is conveyed in the *Hellenica* as well, though expressed by a different clause type. The pieces of information under consideration are: (1) "*he crossed the Hellespont*", expressed by a sentence-initial aorist stem conjunct participial clause in *Agesilaus* 2.1 (διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον) and by a sentence-initial ἐπεί-clause with an aorist stem verbal constituent in *Hellenica* 4.2.8 (ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβη τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον), and (2) "*having passed through Macedonia he arrived in Thessaly*", expressed by an aorist stem conjunct participial clause and a finite main verb in a sentence-initial ἐπεί-clause in *Agesilaus* 2.2 (ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξαμείψας Μακεδονίαν εἰς Θετταλίαν ἀφίκετο) and by an aorist stem conjunct participial clause and a finite main verb in an independent clause in *Hellenica* 4.3.3 (ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος διαλλάξας Μακεδονίαν εἰς Θετταλίαν ἀφίκετο).

In the *Agesilaus*, Xenophon's narrative treatment of Agesilaus's ἔργα (see Section 3) can be divided roughly into two parts: an account of his activities in Asia (1.9 - 1.38) and his activities in Greece (2.1 - 2.27) and Egypt (2.28 - 31). Example [7] presents the final episode of a large discourse unit concerning Agesilaus's activities in Asia. Both the beginning and end of the episode are marked explicitly and overtly; the closing-line τῶν μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πράξεων τοῦτο τέλος ἐγένετο marks the end of a text block that is central to the constitution of the text as Xenophon planned it, as is often the case with such closing-lines; cf. also *Hellenica* 4.2.23 καὶ αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἡ μάχη οὕτως ἐγένετο ('and in this manner that battle took place'). Note the high density of linguistic marking in connection with the relatively low information status of these sentences: anaphoric deictic elements (τοῦτο, αὕτη, οὕτως), a semantically empty and therefore anaphoric verbal constituent (ἐγένετο); transition-marking μέν … δέ (for this notion, see Bakker, 1993: 302-305), and the low information status of

the sentence as a whole because of the recapitulation of previously processed information, as marked by δή.[29]

The transition from Agesilaus's activities in Asia to his activities in Europe therefore constitutes a major break in the structure of the work as a whole. It is to be noted that this transition constitutes a *Real World boundary*; Real World boundaries include transition from one day/season/year to the other, or the crossing of a natural border such as a river or a strait. Real World boundaries may, but need not coincide with boundaries at the level of text articulation or the level of the Real World construction.[30]

After a large-scale break has been articulated, the transition from Asia to Europe itself (*διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον*) can be expressed as part of the new episode that is in the process of being organized. The topic is continuous, and the nature of the information that he crossed the Hellespont is script-predictable after the closing line *τῶν μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πράξεων τοῦτο τέλος ἐγένετο*. The *conjunct participial clause* seems to be the proper grammatical device to launch off the new action sequence ('having crossed the Hellespont he marched on by the same route as the Persian king Xerxes had followed when he made his expedition against Greece'). Thus expressing himself, Xenophon creates an opportunity for comparing Agesilaus and the Persian King. The distance that had been traversed by Xerxes in a year was covered by Agesilaus in less than a month. The comparison is in place in the encomiastic context;[31] Xenophon compares his hero to the Persian King throughout the encomium (see especially *Agesilaus* 9.1-5).

Example [8] presents the corresponding episode in the *Hellenica*. Agesilaus persuades his allies to go with him to the aid of Sparta, with the intention of returning to Asia together afterwards. His allies make preparations to follow him. Agesilaus himself takes care of the safety of the cities in Asia. He offers prizes in order to lead with him the best

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[29] An almost prototypical example of this kind of marked closure is provided by *Cyropaedia* 2.2.17: *ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐνταῦθα ἔληξεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου…*

[30] Bakker (1993: 286) notes on the subclause *ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο* in Herodotus 2.121 *γ*: "the frame opened by a temporal subclause is "thematic" (content-oriented), in that the discourse boundary coincides with a natural caesura between two sequences of events narrated." The issue of linguistic marking of thematic boundaries will be discussed in Chapter 4.

[31] As the genre of the encomium develops, comparison will become one of its *topoi* in later times.

men and as many as possible. The decision in the contest will be taken in the Chersonese, i.e. after having crossed from Asia to Europe. Xenophon spends a short paragraph on the prizes to be won. He then continues his narrative by mentioning Agesilaus's crossing of the Hellespont, and the appointment of the judges. The decision is made, and we learn that Agesilaus marched on by the same route as Xerxes[32]. With that, we leave Agesilaus and are informed about cotemporal events (*Hellenica* 4.2.9 *ἐν δὲ τούτῳ* ... 4.2.23 *καὶ αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἡ μάχη οὕτως ἐγένετο*).

In the *Hellenica*, the natural boundary of the transition from Asia to Europe does not effect that deep an incision within the organization of the *text*, as the crossing the Hellespont is part of an on-going story-line that will be abandoned soon thereafter. The subclause *ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβη τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον* is used at a point in the text where, compared to the rather straightforward way of narrating in the *Agesilaus*, there is a relatively high degree of turbulence as far as the organization of the text is concerned. At the same time, we are taken back to the main event line after a short digression on the prizes to be won (*ἦν δὲ τὰ ἆθλα ... παμπόλλων χρημάτων ὅπλα εἰς τὴν στρατιὰν κατεσκευάσθη*) and to express a relocation from the one side of the Hellespont to the other; in this connection, the subclause makes for textual coherence by expressing the relocation as a link in an expectancy chain, i.e., the occurrence of a situation anticipated in the preceding discourse is taken as the new point of departure for what follows. In *Hellenica* 4.2.6-8, we have such an expectancy chain in the sequence *τὴν δὲ κρίσιν ἔφη ποιήσειν, ἐπεὶ διαβαίησαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐν Χερρονήσῳ ... ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβη τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ... κριταὶ κατέστησαν ... ἐπεὶ τὴν κρίσιν ἐποίησεν.* While this strategic move on Agesilaus's part (*ὁρῶν ὅτι οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν μένειν ἐπεθύμουν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐφ' Ἕλληνας στρατεύεσθαι, βουλόμενος ὡς βελτίστους καὶ πλείστους ἄγειν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ*) is absent in the *Agesilaus*,[33] Xenophon enlarges on it in the *Hellenica*; only there does the crossing of a natural border coincide with a thematic break in the story. Further, the identity of the judges is revealed, which involves a topic swich, while Agesilaus remains an

[32] Note that the extended comparison is left out here.

[33] Perhaps Xenophon deemed the reluctance of Agesilaus's soldiers to undertake the campaign unfitting for the encomium; note in contrast *ἐθελούσιοι γοῦν αὐτῷ συνεβοήθησαν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι* in the *Agesilaus.*

active discourse participant (note the third person singular: *διέβη*). As opposed to the conjunct participial clause in the *Agesilaus*, the *ἐπεί*-clause in the *Hellenica* helps to keep track of Agesilaus, who still has a role to perform before he is brought off the stage (*καὶ Ἀγεσίλαος μέν*), at a point where not only the preceding unit has a different topic (the *ἆθλα*), but also the following main clause features new discourse participants (the *κριταί*, who are introduced by name). The complexity of the narrative in the *Hellenica* seems to have triggered the use of a subclause.

I shall now discuss the second instance of different expressions used to convey the same piece of information, *viz.*, that Agesilaus "*having passed through Macedonia arrived in Thessaly.*"[34]

In the *Agesilaus*, the action sequence that is started with *διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπορεύετο* is immediately thereafter temporarily abandoned in order to compare Agesilaus in a favourable manner with the Persian king (see above). In the course of the comparison between Agesilaus and Xerxes, the precise spatial setting goes astray, and so does the action sequence itself when a parenthesis-like sentence of reported thought intervenes (*οὐ γὰρ ὡς ὑστερήσειε τῆς πατρίδος προεθυμεῖτο*). Hereafter there seems to be need for some (re-)organization of the discourse: at the point where the abandoned story line is picked up, Agesilaus is continued as the dominant discourse participant and a relocation is effected, as the next episode takes place in Thessaly. Further, the enemies that Agesilaus encountered there are introduced. All this occurs at a caesura in the text, for up to the point where the *ἐπεί*-clause occurs, Agesilaus's retreat from Asia has been unproblematic, but once Thessaly is reached, he gets into serious trouble. The preposed *ἐπεί*-clause is used to move Agesilaus to Thessaly, so that the enemies can be conveniently introduced in the main clause. Once introduced, they cease to be dominant discourse participants, as marked by *μέν*, for in the *δέ*-member the camera immediately turns back, so to speak, to the hero of the encomium. Again, the subclause is used at a point in the text where there is a relatively high degree of turbulence as far as the

[34] I do not consider the alternation of *ἐξαμείψας* and *διαλλάξας* of any major importance in this connection; throughout the parallel passages of the *Agesilaus* and the *Hellenica* such alternations are found. For instance, wherever Xenophon uses the verb *ἀκολουθέω* or *ἐπακολουθέω* in the *Hellenica*, he uses *ἕπομαι* or *ἐφέπομαι* in the *Agesilaus*, as in the passages cited.

organization of participants, location, and action sequence is concerned.

In the *Hellenica*, Agesilaus is re-introduced as a topic into the discourse after a considerable period of absence in 4.3.1 (note the full NP ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος and the participial clause σπεύδων ... ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, which helps to anchor him in the addressee's previously stored knowledge). Dercylidas (re-)appears, reporting to him that the Spartans were victorious. A conversation between Agesilaus and Dercylidas takes place, in which Agesilaus dismisses Dercylidas to report the victory to the cities that are sending their troops. At the end of this conversation, Dercylidas sets out for the Hellespont, and Agesilaus passes through Macedonia and arrives in Thessaly. The *Hellenica* features two independent (main) clauses co-ordinated by μέν ... δέ to express this. These sentences close off the direct speech unit; in the μέν-member script-predictable information is presented (note δή), and Dercylidas is brought off the stage; the δέ-member takes up Agesilaus, who is to become the topic of the new sequence. Agesilaus's arrival in Thessaly is formally set apart from the subsequent episode by the presence of the particle οὖν, giving the Λαρισαῖοι μέν (οὖν) ... ὁ δέ-sequence a different status than the preceding by indicating that the point at which the narrative aimed has been reached. The particle οὖν is conspicuously absent in the *Agesilaus*; its presence in the *Hellenica*, where it helps to articulate different episodes of the text, underscores the observations that these texts are differently structured.

The comparison of the two texts in this NMP reveals that if the same Real World situation is to be narrated in two texts that are differently constituted, the choice among the different clause types available in Ancient Greek is principally determined by the specific context in which a given piece of information is presented. Faced with the task of processing information pertaining to different aspects of the communication, such as participant-tracking, discontinuity in the spatial setting, or main vs. subsidiary action sequences, the speaker, it is assumed, will articulate his text according to how he thinks these different tasks will be achieved best. Given the fact that the communicative aims the speaker had in mind are different for the *Agesilaus* and the *Hellenica*, it is, in itself, not surprising to find different clause types used to express the same Real World situation in texts that, as a whole, are differently constituted. What should interest us here is the way in which these several clause types contribute to the

articulation of a specific passage in a specific text, in order to see if we are able to draw conclusions about the usage of the individual clause types; these conclusions can be then elaborated on in the discussion of these clause types in the remaining Chapters. In the case of the near minimal pair under consideration, this boils down to the observation that the finite main clause is used to convey information that is most basic for the structure of a passage at a given point (*ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος … εἰς Θετταλίαν ἀφίκετο* as opposed to the subclause *ἐπεὶ δέ … εἰς Θετταλίαν ἀφίκετο*) or even for a large text block in the construction of the text as a whole (as in the case of *τῶν μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πράξεων τοῦτο τέλος ἐγένετο*); that, further, conjunct (aorist stem) participles may be used to express narrative events that are less central to the structural backbone of a passage, as in the case of *διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον* coming just after the closing line *τῶν μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πράξεων τοῦτο τέλος ἐγένετο*, and, indeed, the participles *ἐξαμείψας Μακεδονίαν* and *διαλλάξας Μακεδονίαν* that are followed by a finite verb informing the reader/hearer about the final destination of the journey (*εἰς Θετταλίαν ἀφίκετο*). This is in line with what was observed in connection with the NMP's discussed above. As far as the subclauses used in the present NMP are concerned, it was observed that in the case of both *ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβη τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον* and *ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξαμείψας Μακεδονίαν εἰς Θετταλίαν ἀφίκετο* the subclause is used in situations where factors of topic management, relocation of the main participant, and presentation of main line material after a digression are all involved and need to be taken care of at the same time.

### 5 *NMP 5:* Anabasis *7.3.23-26 vs.* Cyropaedia *8.4.12-13*

| [9] *Anabasis* 7.3.23-26 | [10] *Cyropaedia* 8.4.12-13 |
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| *καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ ταὐτὰ ἐποίουν καθ' οὓς αἱ τράπεζαι ἔκειντο. Ἀρκὰς δέ τις Ἀρύστας ὄνομα, φαγεῖν δεινός, τὸ μὲν διαρριπτεῖν εἴα χαίρειν, λαβὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν χεῖρα ὅσον τριχοίνικον ἄρτον καὶ κρέα θέμενος ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα ἐδείπνει.* | |

[35] ἐπεὶ det. (δὲ falso dicitur deesse E).

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| *κέρατα δὲ οἴνου περιέφερον, καὶ πάντες ἐδέχοντο· ὁ δ' Ἀρύστας, ἐπεὶ παρ' αὐτὸν φέρων τὸ κέρας ὁ οἰνοχόος ἧκεν, εἶπεν ἰδὼν τὸν Ξενοφῶντα οὐκέτι δειπνοῦντα, Ἐκείνῳ, ἔφη, δός· σχολάζει γὰρ ἤδη, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδέπω. ἀκούσας Σεύθης τὴν φωνὴν ἠρώτα τὸν οἰνοχόον τί λέγει. ὁ δὲ οἰνοχόος εἶπεν· ἑλληνίζειν γὰρ ἠπίστατο.* ***ἐνταῦθα μὲν δὴ γέλως ἐγένετο. ἐπειδὴ[35] δὲ προυχώρει ὁ πότος,*** *εἰσῆλθεν ἀνὴρ Θρᾷξ ἵππον ἔχων λευκόν, καὶ λαβὼν κέρας μεστὸν εἶπε· Προπίνω σοι, ὦ Σεύθη, καὶ τὸν ἵππον τοῦτον δωροῦμαι, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ διώκων ὃν ἂν θέλῃς αἱρήσεις καὶ ἀποχωρῶν οὐ μὴ δείσῃς τὸν πολέμιον.* | *πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ὑστάσπας εἶπε· Νὴ τὴν Ἥραν, ὦ Κῦρε, ἥδομαί γε ταῦτά σε ἐρωτήσας. Τί μάλιστα; ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος. Ὅτι κἀγὼ πειράσομαι ταῦτα ποιεῖν· ἓν μόνον, ἔφη, ἀγνοῶ, πῶς ἂν εἴην δῆλος χαίρων ἐπὶ τοῖς σοῖς ἀγαθοῖς· πότερον κροτεῖν δεῖ τὼ χεῖρε ἢ γελᾶν ἢ τί ποιεῖν. καὶ ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος εἶπεν· Ὀρχεῖσθαι δεῖ τὸ Περσικόν.* ***ἐπὶ τούτοις μὲν δὴ γέλως ἐγένετο. προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ συμποσίου*** *ὁ Κῦρος τὸν Γωβρύαν ἐπήρετο· Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Γωβρύα, νῦν ἂν δοκεῖς ἥδιον τῶνδέ τῳ τὴν θυγατέρα δοῦναι ἢ ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἡμῖν συνεγένου;* |
| The others also who had tables placed opposite them, set about doing the same thing. A certain Arcadian named Arystas, a terrible eater, would have none of this throwing about, but took in his hand a loaf as big as a three-quart measure, put some pieces of meat upon his knees, and proceeded to dine. They carried round horns of wine, and all took them; Arystas, upon perceiving that the cupbearer came and brought him his horn, said to the man, observing that Xenophon had finished his dinner, "Give it to him; for he's already at leisure, but I'm not as yet". Upon hearing the sound of his voice, Seuthes asked the cupbearer what he was saying. The cupbearer, who understood Greek, told him. **So then there was an outburst of laughter. Then as the drinking continued,** there came in a Thracian with a white horse, and taking a full horn he said: "I drink your health, Seuthes, and present to you this horse; on his back pursuing you shall | "By Hera", said Hystaspas in reply, "I am glad at any rate that I asked you this question, Cyrus". "Why so, pray?" asked Cyrus. "Because I too shall try to do as he does", said he. "Only I am not sure about one thing—I do not know how I could show that I rejoice at your good fortune. Am I to clap my hands or laugh or what must I do?" "You must dance the Persian dance", suggested Artabazus. **At this, of course, there was an outburst of laughter. The banquet proceeded, when** Cyrus put this question to Gobryas: "Tell me, Gobryas", said he, "would you be more ready to consent now to give your daughter to one of my friends |

| | |
|---|---|
| catch whomever you choose, and retreating you shall not fear the enemy”. | here than you were when first you joined us?” |

These examples have been taken from larger discourses describing the events at two symposia. In both texts, a thematic unit is rounded off by means of a closing-line: ἐνταῦθα μὲν δὴ γέλως ἐγένετο and ἐπὶ τούτοις μὲν δὴ γέλως ἐγένετο in the *Anabasis* and the *Cyropaedia*, respectively. Again, certain characteristic elements are found in these ‘closing lines’: anaphoric deictic elements (ἐνταῦθα/ἐπὶ τούτοις), the aorist indicative ἐγένετο with an inanimate subject, transition-marking μέν ... δέ, and an informational content that the reader/hearer will readily accept in the light of what precedes, as signaled by δή. The continuation after this sentence is to some extent identical, in that only a specific scene during the banquet is rounded off, while the description of the banquet itself continues; the continuation of the banquet, however, is expressed with different linguistic means: a subclause is used in the *Anabasis* (ἐπειδὴ δὲ προυχώρει ὁ πότος), whereas the *Cyropaedia* continues with a genitive absolute (προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ συμποσίου). If two contexts differ so minimally *qua* narrated sequence, it seems promising to investigate the narrative structure of the larger discourse episode in which they occur, as well as the relation between the subordinated propositions and their matrix clauses.

The report of the banquet in *Anabasis* 7.3.15-33 starts with Seuthes inviting the generals and the captains to dinner (§15). The sequel is basically tripartite: the first episode takes place before the guests enter; a certain Heracleides solicits rich gifts for the king (§§16-20). Xenophon appears to have a problem, for he had come across from Parium with nothing but a boy and enough money to cover his travelling expenses. Then we have the dinner itself (§§21-25). This episode consists of a description of the dining room (§21), the odd way in which the food is distributed (§22), and the peculiar behavior of one Arystas, and Seuthes’s reaction to it, closing off with the outburst of laughter (§§23-25). The third episode (§§26-33) describes the after dinner happenings: toasting the king and presenting him with gifts (§§26-32)—a sequence in which three minor participants appear on the stage, who are followed by Xenophon himself, presenting a solution to his problem: he offers himself and his friends to Seuthes. The episode ends with an entertainment-scene (§§32-33).

Xenophon takes his time to skillfully narrate the passage, colouring it with many details;[36] as a result, his own solution to the problem of not being able to offer any gifts to Seuthes is highlighted.

The banquet-scene in *Cyropaedia* 8.4.1-27,[37] too, consists of individual parts having their own thematic unity. The first episode (§§1-2) is dedicated to the participants at the scene, and to the reason for the absence of Gadatas. It is followed by a description of the general pattern at Cyrus's dinner-table, where guests are seated according to merit (§§3-5). There is just one event that took place during dinner: Gobryas's recognition of Cyrus's generosity (§6). There is a smooth change-over to the sections consisting of three individual conversations, which all take place after dinner; the topic of the first conversation is Cyrus's *φιλανθρωπία* (§§7-8). In the second conversation (§§9-12) Hystaspas and Cyrus address the question of how to show loyalty best. This is the conversation that closes off with the outburst of laughter. In the third conversation (§§13-23) Cyrus and Gobryas discuss the betrothal of Gobryas's daughter. In the last episode (§§24-27) Cyrus distributes gifts to his guests. At the end of §27, the whole symposium-scene is closed off with *καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἔληξεν ἡ σκηνή·*[38] *ἐξανισταμένων δ' αὐτῶν ἐξανέστη καὶ ὁ Κῦρος καὶ ξυμπρούπεμψεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας.*

In both texts, the banquet-scene is what might be considered the underlying discourse theme, with the text organized in accordance with a banquet's typical parts belonging to a scheme that is found in both texts, consisting of the invitation, the arrival of the guests, a dinner, drinking after dinner, and the leaving of the guests. The banquet-episode in the *Cyropaedia* is more strictly structured according

[36] See Lendle (1995: 437): "Der ganzen Partie spürt man die Autopsie und die Absicht Xenophons an, seine Beobachtungen den Lesern so lebendig wie möglich zu vermitteln. Man kann wohl mit Recht feststellen, daß ihm dies vorzüglich gelungen ist." Cf. Gera (1993: 132) on the symposia of the *Cyropaedia*: "These parties are, as a rule, lively interludes meant to charm and instruct the reader rather than advance the plot of the work in any substantial way."

[37] See Due (1989: 101-104) and Gera (1993: 132-135 & 183-190) for some detailed descriptions of the passage focussing on points of specific interest to their argument.

[38] For this word, see Due (1989: 104): "by using the word *σκηνή*—instead of e.g. *δεῖπνον*—Xenophon deliberately refers back to the counter passage in book II, where the parties described actually took place in Cyrus' tent and not, as here, in the royal palace of Babylon." However, Due's suggestion of *δεῖπνον* as an alternative for *σκηνή* is misleading, as the *δεῖπνον* is only one part of the whole gathering, which is better referred to with the term *συμπόσιον*, as in *Cyropaedia* 8.4.13.

to a banquet's typical parts than the episode in the *Anabasis*, where much attention is paid to the presentation of gifts to the host, by way of the scene at the door and the relatively large section in which the gifts are actually offered. An overview of the structural units of the two scenes, together with the relevant linguistic marking and the theme of the individual parts is presented in figure 3 & 4:

*Figure 3: The Banquet in Anabasis 7.3.15-35*

| | part of banquet | linguistic signal | theme |
|---|---|---|---|
| 15 | invitation | ἐπὶ δεῖπνον Σεύθης κάλεσε | participants introduced |
| 16-20 | arrival at the door | ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ θύραις ἦσαν ὡς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον παριόντες | one Heracleides solicits gifts |
| 21-25 | entrance, dinner, and wine | ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον … τὸ δεῖπνον … ἦν | 21: the dining room<br>22: distribution of food<br>23-25: Aristas's behavior |
| 26-33 | after dinner drinks | ἐπειδὴ δὲ προυχώρει ὁ πότος | 26-32: toasting Seuthes and presenting of gifts |
| | | | 26: a Thracian |
| | | | 27: another man |
| | | | 28: one Gnesippus |
| | | | 29-32: Xenophon |
| | | μετὰ ταῦτα | 32-33: entertainment |
| 34-35 | leave-taking | ὡς δ' ἦν ἥλιος ἐπὶ δυσμαῖς, ἀνέστησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ εἶπον ὅτι ὥρα νυκτοφύλακας καθιστάναι καὶ σύνθημα παραδιδόναι … ὡς δ' ἐξῆσαν | |

*Figure 4: The Banquet in Cyropaedia 8.4.1-27*

| | part of banquet | linguistic signal | theme |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1-2 | invitation | Κῦρος … ἐκάλεσε … συνεκάλεσε | participants introduced |
| 3-5 | arrival at banquet | ὡς δ' ἦλθον οἱ κληθέντες ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον | system of the seating plan |
| 6 | dinner | ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδείπνουν | Cyrus's generosity |
| 7-8 | end of dinner | ἐπεὶ ἐδεδειπνήκεσαν καί … | φιλανθρωπία |
| 9-12 | after dinner drinks | ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἐπεὶ ὑπέπινον | how to show loyalty best |
| 13-23 | | **προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ συμποσίου** | betrothal of G.'s daughter |
| 24-27 | | μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα | Cyrus distributes gifts |
| 27 | leave-taking | καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἔληξεν ἡ σκηνή· ἐξανισταμένων δ' αὐτῶν ἐξανέστη καὶ ὁ Κῦρος καὶ ξυμπρούπεμψεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας | |

A comparison of the two figures offers a clue to the answer why Xenophon preferred a subclause in the *Anabasis* and a genitive absolute in the *Cyropaedia* in order to express comparable information: in the *Anabasis*, the subclause occurs at the onset of one of the parts of the over-all scheme, creating a relatively deep incision on the level of the Real World construction: there is a transition from the dinner-episode to the presentation of gifts that was anticipated to in §§16-20. As it happens, the theme-predictable episode of the 'after dinner drinks' had been more or less initiated during the Arystas-section: horns of wine had been carried round (§24: κέρατα δὲ οἴνου περιέφερον) and everybody apparently had finished their meals for everyone took a horn (§24: καὶ πάντες ἐδέχοντο), excepting Arystas,

who had not finished as yet (§24: *σχολάζει γὰρ ἤδη, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδέπω*). The subclause is therefore used for content-oriented discourse segmentation; at the same time, it makes for thematic coherence by referring to the after dinner drinks (*ὁ πότος*) that had already been introduced in §§24-25 (hence, probably, *ἐπειδή*).

In the *Cyropaedia* we have *προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ συμποσίου*, the noun most probably referring to the whole event rather than to one of its individual parts. In fact, the genitive absolute is used at a minor boundary between two individual conversations; the three sections consisting of §§9-12, §§13-23, and §§24-27 all belong to the high-level thematic unit of the after dinner drinks, as indicated in §9 by *ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἐπεὶ ὑπέπινον*.[39] There is articulation of small-scale discourse segmentation (note *δέ*), indicating the onset of a next phase in the text. The genitive absolute moves narrative time forward and although a new theme will be addressed in this phase, this phase is still to be viewed as part of the text segment concerned with the after dinner drinks. By its content, the genitive absolute provides the reader/hearer with the information that the underlying discourse topic of the symposium described is still relevant; as such, the genitive absolute is mainly there to help the reader/hearer keep track of the discourse perspective.

Thompson & Longacre (1985: 206) state that "adverbial clauses may be used to provide cohesion for an entire discourse by assisting to maintain the discourse perspective and by helping to articulate the sections of discourse". The usage of subclauses in both texts is in line with this observation, as the perspective of the thematic structure on a relatively high level is primarily maintained via subclauses (*Anabasis* §16 *ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ θύραις ἦσαν ὡς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον παριόντες*; §21 *ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον*; §26 *ἐπειδὴ δὲ προυχώρει ὁ πότος*; §34 *ὡς δ' ἦν ἥλιος ἐπὶ δυσμαῖς*; §35 *ὡς δ' ἐξῆσαν*; *Cyropaedia* §3 *ὡς δ' ἦλθον οἱ κληθέντες ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον*; §6 *ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδείπνουν*; §7 *ἐπεὶ ἐδεδειπνήκεσαν καί …*;[40] §9 *ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἐπεὶ ὑπέπινον*).[41] Other

[39] See Gera (1993: 150, n. 62) for some discussion on the precise meaning of *ὑπέπινον*.

[40] Due (1989: 102) states that "the description of the dinner itself falls into four parts, in which Cyrus discusses different subjects with different guests." He divides the passage as follows: part I: §§6-8; part II: §§9-12; part III: §§13-23 (on page 103, n. 49, §24 is mentioned, but judging from the body text §23 must be meant); part IV: §§24-27). Gera (1993: 133) correctly notes that "the conversation at this symposium—a series of loosely connected exchanges between Cyrus and his guests—begins only after

linguistic devices at the onset of sentences, such as the genitive absolute **προϊόντος (δὲ) τοῦ συμποσίου** (*Cyropaedia* §13) and the temporal adverbial **μετὰ (δὲ) ταῦτα** (*Anabasis* §33, *Cyropaedia* §24) do have a text articulating function, albeit on a different structural level; they help to articulate boundaries within a thematic unit, the overall theme of which had already been defined by a subclause.[42] On a still lower structural level, *viz.*, a boundary between two sentences within a sub-segment, we may have for instance a participial clause like **ἀκούσας** (*Anabasis* §25; note the 'asyndeton'), a case of 'reciprocal coupling' (Thompson & Longacre, 1985: 213), preparing for a topic switch.

At this point, it may be instructive to compare the continuation after a sentence closing off a discourse unit in [11] and [12]; [11] is taken from the same banquet-scene as [10]:

> [11] *Cyropaedia* 8.4.21-23
> *ἔπειτα δ', ἔφη, σιμὴ ἄν σοι ἰσχυρῶς συμφέροι.* Π*ρὸς τί δὴ αὖ τοῦτο;* "Ο*τι, ἔφη, σὺ γρυπὸς εἶ· πρὸς οὖν τὴν σιμότητα σάφ' ἴσθι ὅτι ἡ γρυπότης ἄριστ' ἂν προσαρμόσειε.* Λ*έγεις σύ, ἔφη, ὡς καὶ τῷ εὖ δεδειπνηκότι ὥσπερ καὶ ἐγὼ νῦν ἄδειπνος ἂν συναρμόττοι.* Ν*αὶ μὰ* Δ*ί', ἔφη ὁ* Κ*ῦρος· τῶν μὲν γὰρ μεστῶν γρυπὴ ἡ γαστὴρ γίγνεται,*

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dinner." I would argue that although §6 and §7 are tightly connected (*ὥστε*; cf. the imperfect *ἐδόκει* in §6), a boundary is created in the organization of the discourse according to the individual parts of banquet by the subclause *ἐπεὶ ἐδεδειπνήκεσαν καὶ*...

[41] Of course, subclauses need not be used solely for discourse organization; in *ὁ δ'* Ἀ*ρύστας, ἐπεὶ παρ' αὐτὸν φέρων τὸ κέρας ὁ οἰνοχόος ἧκεν, εἶπεν ἰδὼν τὸν* Ξ*ενοφῶντα οὐκέτι δειπνοῦντα,* Ἐ*κείνῳ, ἔφη, δός· σχολάζει γὰρ ἤδη, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδέπω* (*Anabasis* §24), where the topic is expressed by means of a full NP at the initial position of the sentence before the subclause, the subclause is primarily there to indicate a relation in the non-linguistic world between the subordinated and the main event, to the effect that the subordinated event is relayed from the participant's point of view.

[42] Cf. Herodotus 6.129: *ὡς δὲ ἡ κυρίη ἐγένετο τῶν ἡμερέων τῆς τε κατακλίσιος τοῦ γάμου καὶ ἐκφάσιος αὐτοῦ* Κ*λεισθένεος τὸν κρίνοι ἐκ πάντων, θύσας βοῦς ἑκατὸν ὁ* Κ*λεισθένης εὐώχεε αὐτούς τε τοὺς μνηστῆρας καὶ* Σ*ικυωνίους πάντας.* ***ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἐγένοντο***, *οἱ μνηστῆρες ἔριν εἶχον ἀμφί τε μουσικῇ καὶ τῷ λεγομένῳ ἐς τὸ μέσον.* ***προϊούσης δὲ τῆς πόσιος*** *κατέχων πολλὸν τοὺς ἄλλους ὁ* Ἱ*πποκλείδης ἐκέλευσέ οἱ τὸν αὐλητὴν αὐλῆσαι ἐμμελείην* ('when the appointed day came for the marriage feast and for Cleisthenes' declaration of whom he had chosen out of them all, Cleisthenes sacrificed a hundred oxen and gave a feast to the suitors and to the whole of Sicyon. **After dinner**, the suitors vied with each other in music and in anecdotes for all to hear. **The drinking proceeded**, when Hippocleides, now far outdoing the rest, ordered the flute-player to play him a dance-tune'). Here, too, the onset of a thematic unit is marked by a subclause, while a genitive absolute helps to articulate a boundary between sub-segments.

*τῶν δὲ ἀδείπνων σιμή. καὶ ὁ Χρυσάντας ἔφη· Ψυχρῷ δ' ἄν, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, βασιλεῖ ἔχοις ἂν εἰπεῖν ποία τις συνοίσει;* ***ἐνταῦθα μὲν δὴ*** *ὅ τε Κῦρος ἐξεγέλασε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὁμοίως.* ***γελώντων δὲ*** *ἅμα εἶπεν ὁ Ὑστάσπας· Πολύ γ', ἔφη, μάλιστα τούτου σε, ὦ Κῦρε, ζηλῶ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ. Τίνος; ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος. Ὅτι δύνασαι καὶ ψυχρὸς ὢν γέλωτα παρέχειν. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν· Ἔπειτ' οὐκ ἂν πρίαιό γε παμπόλλου ὥστε σοὶ ταῦτ' εἰρῆσθαι, καὶ ἀπαγγελθῆναι παρ' ᾗ εὐδοκιμεῖν βούλει ὅτι ἀστεῖος εἶ; καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω διεσκώπτετο. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα …*

"And in the next place", Cyrus went on, "a snub-nosed woman would suit you admirably". "Why so?" "Because", was the answer, "your own nose is so hooked; and hookedness, I assure you, would be the very proper mate for snubbiness". "Do you mean to say also", said the other, "that a supperless wife would suit one who has had a good dinner, like me now?" "Aye, by Zeus", answered Cyrus; "for the stomach of one who has eaten heartily bows out, but that of one who has not eaten bows in". "Then, in heaven's name", said Chrysantas, "could you tell us what sort of wife would suit a frigid king?" **At this, of course,** Cyrus burst out laughing, as did also all the rest. **They were still laughing when** Hystaspas said: "I envy you for that, Cyrus, more than for anything else in your kingdom". "Envy me for what?" asked Cyrus. "Why, that, frigid as you are, you can still make us laugh". "Well", said Cyrus, "and would you not give a great deal to have made these jokes and to have them reported to the lady with whom you wish to have the reputation of being a witty fellow?" Thus, then, these pleasantries were exchanged. Thereafter …

[12] *Symposium* 4.49-50
***οὗτος μὲν δὴ*** *ὁ λόγος* ***οὕτως*** *ἐσπουδαιολογήθη.* ***ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς τὸν Φίλιππον ἧκον****, ἠρώτων αὐτὸν τί ὁρῶν ἐν τῇ γελωτοποιίᾳ μέγα ἐπ' αὐτῇ φρονοίη. Οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον, ἔφη, ὁπότε γε πάντες εἰδότες ὅτι γελωτοποιός εἰμι, ὅταν μέν τι ἀγαθὸν ἔχωσι, παρακαλοῦσί με ἐπὶ ταῦτα προθύμως, ὅταν δέ τι κακὸν λάβωσι, φεύγουσιν ἀμεταστρεπτί, φοβούμενοι μὴ καὶ ἄκοντες γελάσωσι;*

**Such** was the serious turn given to the discussion of **this** topic. **When they got around to Philip**, they asked him what he saw in the jester's profession to feel proud of it. "Have I not a right to be proud", said he, "when all know that I am a jester, and so whenever they have a bit of good fortune, give me hearty invitations to come and join them, but when they suffer some reverse, run from me with never a glance behind, in dread that they may be forced to laugh in spite of themselves?"

Again we have high density of linguistic marking at the point where a certain thematic unit is closed off, such as anaphoric deictic elements (ἐνταῦθα/οὗτος; οὕτως), transition-marking μέν ... δέ, an informational content that the reader/hearer will readily accept in the light of what precedes as signaled by δή, and an aorist verb form. But the genitive absolute in [11] is used for text articulation at a boundary between two segments where only the topic of conversation changes. At the transition, the lexical overlap in ἐξεγέλασε ... γελώντων indicates thematic continuity; lexical overlap is often used by speakers in order to help their audience to keep track of where they are. Here too, as in [10], the transition is to a next stage within a greater whole that is continuous in terms of place, time, and participants.[43] The ἐπειδή-clause in [12], on the other hand, is used at a point of greater discontinuity in the discourse: the preceding closing line articulates discourse segmentation, and the subclause is there to make for thematic segmentation: it introduces a new spatial setting. These examples further suggest that in the NMP under consideration, factors concerning text articulation at points of (dis)continuation of a text segment determine the choice among the alternatives available. [44]

In sum: both the subclause ἐπειδὴ δὲ προυχώρει ὁ πότος and the genitive absolute προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ συμποσίου operate as text-grammatical devices in that they are used for text articulation; the subclause, however, operates on a higher structural level: it helps keep track of the individual parts of the underlying banquet-scheme,

[43] In addition, it is to be noted that after the genitive absolute in [10], too, the discourse is concerned with participants who have been present in the discourse and are well-known, whereas new participants are introduced after the subclause in [9].

[44] In [10], the choice of the genitive absolute suggests that no Real World relation is expressed between the content of the subordinate clause and the superordinate clause. In [9], on the other hand, where we have a finite clause headed by the subordinator ἐπειδή, the relation between the content of the subclause (continuation of the drinking) and its matrix clause (entrance of a Thracian with a white horse who takes a full horn and says: "I drink your health, Seuthes, and present to you this horse") is posited but not specified. Only if such a Real World relation actually obtains in the view of the speaker is he free to use the non-specific relator ἐπειδή in order to relate the content of the subordinated clause to that of the matrix clause (although ὡς may be a possible alternative). In this connection, it may be pointed out that in order to take a full horn and toast the king there is need of drinks—note that here the πότος continues, as opposed to the συμπόσιον in the *Cyropaedia* (as suggested above, συμπόσιον most probably refers to the whole event; cf. πόσις in Herodotus 6.129, cited in n. 42).

whereas the genitive absolute helps to articulate two phases within a larger text segment. In terms of boundaries, then, the subclause is used at a textual *and* content-oriented boundary, whereas the genitive absolute is used at a textual boundary only, without articulation of a content-oriented boundary, but is there to help the reader/hearer keep track of the discourse perspective.

The examples show that when a subordinate clause is used to express an event that is continued (the *πότος* and the *συμπόσιον*, respectively) at a point of segmentation of the text, the choice of the type of subordinate clause is dependent on whether the segmentation takes place on just the level of text articultation, or on the level of text articulation as well as on the level of the Real World construction.

### 6 *NMP 6:* Cyropaedia *5.4.43-50 vs.* Hellenica *3.4.9-10 (&* Cyropaedia *1.4.19-20,* Anabasis *2.5.15-24,* Anabasis *6.3.11-15,*[45] *and* Hellenica *3.2.25-26)*

| [13] *Cyropaedia* 5.4.43-50 | [14] *Hellenica* 3.4.9-10 | [15] *Cyropaedia* 1.4.19-20 |
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| | *βαρέως δὲ φέρων τῇ ἀτιμίᾳ, προσελθὼν εἶπεν·* Ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, *μειοῦν μὲν ἄρα σύγε τοὺς φίλους ἠπίστω.* Ναὶ *μὰ* Δί', *ἔφη, τούς γε βουλομένους ἐμοῦ μείζους φαίνεσθαι·* | *ὁ δὲ* Κῦρος *ὡς εἶδε πολλοὺς ἱππέας ἀντίους, ἤρετο·* Ἦ *οὗτοι, ἔφη, ὦ πάππε, πολέμιοί εἰσιν, οἳ ἐφεστήκασι τοῖς ἵπποις ἠρέμα;* Πολέμιοι *μέντοι, ἔφη.* Ἦ *καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, ἔφη, οἱ ἐλαύνοντες;* Κ*ἀκεῖνοι μέντοι.* Ν*ὴ τὸν* Δί', *ἔφη, ὦ πάππε, ἀλλ' οὖν πονηροί γε φαινόμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ πονηρῶν ἱππαρίων ἄγουσιν ἡμῶν τὰ χρήματα· οὐκοῦν χρὴ ἐλαύνειν τινὰς ἡμῶν ἐπ' αὐτούς.* Ἀλλ' *οὐχ ὁρᾷς, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, ὅσον τὸ στῖφος τῶν ἱππέων* |

[45] Numbered by some editors as *Anabasis* 6.3.18.

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| καὶ ὁ Κῦρος πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπε·<br><br>[speech by Cyrus]<br><br>**ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' εἶπεν**, ἔδοξέ τε ὀρθῶς τοῖς παροῦσι λέγειν καὶ ἦγεν ὁ Γωβρύας ὥσπερ ἐκέλευσε. | τοὺς δέ γε αὔξοντας εἰ μὴ ἐπισταίμην ἀντιτιμᾶν, αἰσχυνοίμην ἄν. καὶ ὁ Λύσανδρος εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' ἴσως καὶ μᾶλλον εἰκότα σὺ ποιεῖς ἢ ἐγὼ ἔπραττον. τάδε οὖν μοι ἐκ τοῦ λοιποῦ χάρισαι, ὅπως ἂν μήτ' αἰσχύνωμαι ἀδυνατῶν παρὰ σοὶ μήτ' ἐμποδὼν σοι ὦ, ἀπόπεμψόν ποί με. ὅπου γὰρ ἂν ὦ, πειράσομαι ἐν καιρῷ σοι εἶναι. **εἰπόντος δὲ ταῦτα** ἔδοξε καὶ τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ οὕτω ποιῆσαι, καὶ πέμπει αὐτὸν ἐφ' Ἑλλησ-πόντου.<br><br>Being distressed at his | ἕστηκε συντεταγμένον; οἳ ἢν ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἡμεῖς ἐλαύνωμεν, ὑποτεμοῦνται ἡμᾶς πάλιν [ἐκεῖνοι]· ἡμῖν δὲ οὔπω ἡ ἰσχὺς πάρεστιν. Ἀλλ' ἢν σὺ μένῃς, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, καὶ ἀναλαμβάνῃς τοὺς προσβοηθοῦντας, φοβήσονται οὗτοι καὶ οὐ κινήσονται, οἱ δ' ἄγοντες εὐθὺς ἀφήσουσι τὴν λείαν, ἐπειδὰν ἴδωσί τινας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐλαύνοντας. **ταῦτ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ**[46] ἔδοξέ τι λέγειν τῷ Ἀστυάγει. καὶ ἅμα θαυμάζων ὡς καὶ ἐφρόνει καὶ ἐγρηγόρει κελεύει τὸν υἱὸν λαβόντα τάξιν ἱππέων ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄγοντας τὴν λείαν.<br>As for Cyrus, upon seeing many horsemen over against them, he asked: "Say, grandfather", said he, "are those men enemies who sit there quietly upon their horses?" "Yes, indeed, they are", said he. "Are those enemies, too", said Cyrus, "who are riding up and down?" "Yes, |

[46] εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ : εἰπὼν y (= D & F) R. As the conjunct participle is, syntactically speaking, the *lectio facilior*, I take the genitive absolute as the correct reading, following the most recent editions by Marchant and Gemoll. Some older editions, e.g., those of Leunclavius, Hutchinson, and Schneider, read ταῦτ' εἰπών. Cf. Schneider *ad loc.* (my italics): "Ex Guelf. εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ *difficiliorem multo lectionem* recepit cum Zeunio Weiske."

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| And Cyrus said in answer:<br><br>[speech by Cyrus]<br><br>**When he had said this,** he seemed to those present to be saying what was right, and Gobryas led the way as he had directed. | disgrace, he went to Agesilaus and said: “Agesilaus, it seems that you, at least, understand how to humiliate your friends”. “Yes, by Zeus, I do”, said he, “at any rate those who wish to appear greater than I; but as for those who exalt me, if I should prove not to know how to honour them in return, I should be ashamed”. And Lysander said: “Well, perhaps it is indeed true that you are acting more properly than I acted. Therefore grant me this favour at least: in order that I may not be shamed by having no influence with you, and may not be in your way, send me off somewhere. For, wherever I may be, I shall endeavour to be useful to you”.<br>**This he said**, and it seemed <best> to Agesilaus also to follow this course, and he sent him to the Hellespont. | they are enemies, too.” “Well then, by Zeus, grandfather”, said he, “at any rate, they are a sorry looking lot on a sorry lot of nags who are raiding our belongings. Why, some of us ought to charge upon them”. “But don’t you see, my son”, said the king, “what a dense array of cavalry is standing there in line? If we charge upon those over there, these in turn will cut us off; while as for us, the main body of our forces has not yet come”. “But if you stay here”, said Cyrus, “and take up the reinforcements that are coming to join us, these fellows will be afraid and will not stir, while the raiders will drop their booty, just as soon as they see some of us charging on them”.<br>**This he said**, and it seemed to Astyages that there was something in these words. And while he wondered that the boy was so shrewd and wide-awake, he ordered his son to take a division of the cavalry and charge upon those who were carrying off the spoil. |

| [16] *Anabasis* 2.5.15-24 | [17] *Anabasis* 6.3.11-15 | [18] *Hellenica* 3.2.25-26 |
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| Κλέαρχος μὲν οὖν | | περιόντι δὲ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ φαίνουσι πάλιν οἱ |

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| τοσαῦτα εἶπε· Τισσαφέρνης δὲ ὧδε ἀπημείφθη·<br><br>[speech by Tissaphernes]<br><br>**ταῦτα εἰπὼν** ἔδοξε τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἀληθῆ λέγειν· καὶ εἶπεν (*sc.* Κλέαρχος)· | σκοποὺς δὲ καταστήσας συνέλεξε τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἔλεξεν·<br><br>[speech by Xenophon]<br><br>**ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν** ἡγεῖτο. παρέπεμψε δὲ καὶ τῶν γυμνήτων ἀνθρώπους εὐζώνους εἰς τὰ πλάγια καὶ εἰς τὰ ἄκρα, ὅπως εἴ πού τί ποθεν καθορῷεν, σημαίνοιεν· ἐκέλευε δὲ καίειν ἅπαντα ὅτῳ ἐντυγχάνοιεν καυσίμῳ. | ἔφοροι φρουρὰν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἦλιν, καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο τῷ Ἄγιδι πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων οἵ τε ἄλλοι πάντες σύμμαχοι καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. **ἐμβαλόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἄγιδος δι᾽ Αὐλῶνος**, εὐθὺς μὲν Λεπρεᾶται ἀποστάντες τῶν Ἠλείων προσεχώρησαν **αὐτῷ**, εὐθὺς δὲ Μακίστιοι, ἐχόμενοι δ᾽ Ἐπιταλιεῖς. διαβαίνοντι δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν προσεχώρουν Λετρῖνοι καὶ Ἀμφίδολοι καὶ Μαργανεῖς. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐλθὼν εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν ἔθυε τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ· κωλύειν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἐπειρᾶτο. θύσας δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ ἐπορεύετο, κόπτων καὶ κάων τὴν χώραν, καὶ ὑπέρπολλα μὲν κτήνη, ὑπέρπολλα δὲ ἀνδράποδα ἡλίσκετο ἐκ τῆς χώρας· |
| Thus much Clearchus said; Tissaphernes replied as follows:<br><br>[speech by Tissaphernes]<br><br>**In these things that he said** he seemed to Clearchus to be speaking the truth; and | He (*sc.* Xenophon) stationed watchers and called the troops together, and spoke as follows:<br><br>[speech by Xenophon]<br><br>**Upon these words** he led the way. Furthermore, he sent out on the flanks and to | In the course of the year the ephors again called out the ban against Elis, and with the exception of the Boeotians and the Corinthians all the allies, including the Athenians, took part with Agis in the campaign. **Agis entered Elis by way of Aulon**, and the Lepreans at once revolted from the Eleans |

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| Clearchus said: | the neighbouring heights some of the more active of the light-armed troops in order that they might signal to the army in case they should sight anything anywhere from any point of observation; he directed them to burn everything they found that could be burned. | and came over to him, the Macistians likewise at once, and after them the Epitalians. He was crossing the river, when the Letrinians, Amphidolians, and Marganians came over to him.<br>Thereupon he went to Olympia and offered sacrifices to Olympian Zeus, and this time no one undertook to prevent him. After his sacrifices he marched upon the city of Elis, laying the land waste with axe and fire as he went, and vast numbers of cattle and vast numbers of slaves were captured in the country. |

In these examples we have a subordinate clause at the beginning of a sentence; in [13] through [17] the combination of the pronoun and the verbal constituent is anaphoric: they are back-references to the preceding speech. The examples [13] through [16] are comparable further in that the subordinate clause is followed by the finite main verb ἔδοξε, which, however, seems to be used differently in these examples.

In the case of the subclause in [13], the usage of τε … καί, giving the topic of both sentences equal status, seems to require a personal interpretation of ἔδοξε (*Cyrus seemed* to those present to be saying what was right);[47] an impersonal interpretation (*it seemed* to those present that Cyrus was saying what was right) seems forced. In the case of the conjunct participle in [16] ἔδοξε is certainly personally used (*Tissaphernes seemed* to Clearchus to be speaking the truth). In both [13] and [16] the verbs referring to the act of speaking (the verbal

47 Though all the examples of subclauses of the type ἐπεὶ/ὡς ταῦτα εἶπ- taken from Xenophon's *Hellenica* and *Anabasis* in my data base have a different subject in the following matrix clause.

constituents *εἶπεν/εἰπών* of the preposed embedded clauses and the dependend infinitive *λέγειν*) share the same subject, the finite main verb *ἔδοξε* is personally used, which leads to the interpretation of the main clause as a whole as expressing an *opinion* on the part of the participant referred to in the dative case.

The case of the genitive absolute in [14] is different. There, the verbal constituent *εἰπόντος* of the preposed embedded clause and the infinitive *ποιῆσαι* have different subjects. In the case of the sequence *εἰπόντος δὲ ταῦτα ἔδοξε καὶ τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ οὕτω ποιῆσαι*, a personal interpretation of *ἔδοξε* is impossible; further the *καί* in *ἔδοξε καὶ τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ οὕτω ποιῆσαι* triggers an interpretation of this clause as a *decision* on the part of Agesilaus rather than an opinion.[48]

Example [15], then, is unusual. A genitive absolute is used with its own subject expressed (*αὐτοῦ*), which is also the subject of the infinitive *λέγειν*. The sentence may be interpreted as either:

> *ταῦτ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ ἔδοξέ τι* (*sc.* Cyrus) *λέγειν τῷ Ἀστυάγει*[49]

or as:

> *ταῦτ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ ἔδοξέ τι λέγειν* (*sc. αὐτόν*) *τῷ Ἀστυάγει.*

In the former case the main verb *ἔδοξε* is given its personal interpretation (cf. [16]), in the latter *ἔδοξε* is given its impersonal interpretation, as in [14]. But as we are dealing with an opinion on the part of Astyages in [15], it seems most natural, and in accordance with the findings of [13] and [16] on the one hand, and of [14] on the other, to opt for the personal interpretation of *ἔδοξε*.[50]

The fact that the genitive absolute has its subject expressed (*αὐτοῦ*), which is also the subject of *ἔδοξε* and *λέγειν* makes this example rather odd, if not ungrammatical. Syntactically speaking it is aberrant, but I submit that it is sound in terms of discourse pragmatics. In the remainder of this Section I shall claim that the genitive absolute is

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[48] This interpretation is substantiated by the fact that of the subordinate clauses in [13] through [17], only in *εἰπόντος δὲ ταῦτα* in [14] the anaphoric pronoun occurs clause-final.

[49] Thus Kühner-Gerth (1898-1904: 110).

[50] The order of the constituents in the matrix clause in [15] (*ἔδοξέ—τι λέγειν—τῷ Ἀστυάγει*) is different from the one found in [16] (*ἔδοξε—τῷ Κλεάρχῳ—ἀληθῆ λέγειν*). The order of constituents can be explained by assuming the most focal constituent to take the final position: 'he seemed to Clearchus thought to be speaking the truth' vs. 'he seemed to have a point to Astyages'.

chosen for reasons of 'topic management'. To this end, I shall discuss the alternative expressions as found in [13] through [18].

Traditionally, the notion of 'emphasis' has been regularly used to explain the choice of a subclause over a participial clause,[51] or the choice of a genitive absolute over a conjunct participle if the latter would have been possible grammatically,[52] as in [15] above. Regrettably those grammars that use this notion fail to give an account of what exactly is meant by it. Since emphasis cannot be pointed out on a phonetic basis in the case of a dead language such as Ancient Greek, and since no criteria are supplied on the basis of which the presumed emphasizing function may be attributed to one of the alternative expressions, it is clear that this notion will not get us very far. Further, if it is claimed that in individual cases a certain effect is intended,[53] it has to be specified what this effect consists in.

Regarding the ἐπεί-clause in [13], three things are important. Firstly, the example is taken from a context where Xenophon's account is divided by ἐπεί-clauses into thematic units each presenting a next stage of the on-going narrrative. Starting in 5.4.41, we have *ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενος καθεώρα τὴν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων πόλιν καὶ*

[51] Kühner-Gerth (1898-1904 II: 78, Anmerk 2): "Statt der Partizipialkonstruktion können auch im Griechischen entweder des grösseren Nachdruckes oder auch der Deutlichkeit wegen Nebensätze gebraucht werden."

[52] Kühner-Gerth (1898-1904 II: 110): "Die *Genitivi absoluti* finden sich zuweilen auch da, wo das Subjekt derselben nicht verschieden ist von dem Subjekte des Prädikats oder einem Objekte desselben. Der Grund dieser abweichenden Konstruktion liegt gemeinlich in dem Bestreben, das Satzglied mit grösserem Nachdrucke hervorzuheben und den übrigen Worten entgegenzustellen; oft wird aber diese Konstruktion auch deshalb gewählt, weil durch dieselbe das adverbiale Verhältnis zu dem Prädikate des Satzes deutlicher bezeichnet wird als durch das bezügliche Partizip, das auch statt eines Adjektivsatzes gebracht werden kann;" Goodwin (1897: 338): "The genitive absolute is regularly used only when a new subject is introduced into the sentence and not when the participle can be joined with any substantive already belonging to the construction. Yet this principle is sometimes violated, in order to make the participial clause more prominent and to express its relation (time, cause, etc.) with greater emphasis;" Smyth (1920: 460): "Exceptionally, the subject of the genitive absolute is the same as that of the main clause. The effect of this irregular construction is to emphasize the idea contained in the genitive absolute;" Schwyzer-Debrunner (1950: 399): "Die Verselbständigung des gen. abs. ist besonders deutlich, wenn er – seit dem V$^{a}$ – statt Nom., Akk., Dat. mit ptc. coniunctum steht, öfters mit der stilistischen Wirkung, den durch ihn ausgedrückten Sachverhalt herauszuheben;" see also Schwyzer (1942), who points out that besides 'Heraushebung' (102), an explanation for these cases is to be found in the observation that the speaker finished his sentence in a way different from his initial conception.

[53] Thus Humbert (1960: 131): "le «sujet» du génitif absolu peut même se rapporter au «sujet» de la proposition, en vue de produire un *effet*".

*ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ἡ ὁδὸς ἣν ᾔει παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος φέρειν* ('and when, as he proceeded, he came in sight of the city of Babylon and it seemed to him that the road which he was following led close by the walls'), this one initializing a discussion by Cyrus on the one hand, and Gobryas (and Gadatas) on the other, on how to proceed. Our example *ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' εἶπεν*, then, ends the discussion, and they leave the spot succesfully (*ἀπεχώρει*), while in 5.4.51 *ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενος οὕτως ἐν ταῖς γιγνομέναις ἡμέραις ἀφικνεῖται εἰς τὰ μεθόρια τῶν Σύρων καὶ Μήδων, ἔνθενπερ ὡρμᾶτο, ἐνταῦθα δή* … ('and when, as he thus proceeded, he came in the usual number of days to the place on the boundaries between Media and Syria from which he had originally started; there …') initializes a new stage at a different location. To all appearances, then, the subclauses perform a function in the thematic organization of the narrative.

Secondly, it may very well be the case that a subclause is used in [13] to indicate that the content of the subclause, i.e., what the reportee said, is taken by the narrator as the point of departure for both the reaction of the reportee's addressee and the fact that Gobryas took the lead, as this is something Cyrus's words aimed at. The contribution of *ἐπεί*, then, is marking that both actions should be viewed in the light of the words spoken.

Thirdly, and in connection with the second point, we observe a difference in scoping: in each of the three examples the subordinate clause is followed by a clause combination, combined on the same syntactic-hierarchical level by *καί*. Only in the case of the subclause is *τε … καί* used, indicating that the two combined (independent) clauses are under the scope of the subclause.

In [14], [15], and [16], only the main verb of the following clause (*ἔδοξε*) is under the scope of the participial clause. In these cases, the use of an *ἐπεί*-clause would result in articulating too deep an incision in the text, or, alternatively, in articulating a major discourse boundary which is inexpedient in the context. Rather, the use of participial clauses in these examples, and the individual differences among them, have to be accounted for in terms of topic management.

The situation is rather straightforward in [16]: we do not have a *conversation*, but an alternation of *speeches*. The conjunct participle *ταῦτα εἰπών* just indicates that the one speaker has finished; via *ἔδοξε τῷ Κλεάρχῳ (ἀληθῆ λέγειν)* the camera shifts to Clearchus, who becomes the next speaker. As the (conjunct) participial clause

indicates the end of a speech before the reportee's addressee replies, we have a script-predictable topic switch, which is substantiated by the fact that Clearchus is to be inferred as the subject of the main finite verb of the sentence added by καί (καὶ εἶπεν). The referent filling the subject slot of a conjunct participial clause may be topical for several clauses, as in [17], which, of course, is a situation of subject continuity across a multi-clause span. The conjunct participle ταῦτ' εἰπών in [17] is apt since the situation is uncomplicated regarding topic distribution: the person who has delivered a speech is the topic and remains the topic afterwards.

In [14], we have a rather gradual topic switch. Following on a conversation between Lysander and Agesilaus, the genitive absolute εἰπόντος δὲ ταῦτα indicates that the last speaker, Lysander, has finished speaking. Apart from this, the genitive absolute εἰπόντος δὲ ταῦτα helps to articulate a topic switch from Lysander to Agesilaus, who via ἔδοξε καὶ τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ (οὕτω ποιῆσαι) becomes the subject of the main finite verb of the sentence added by καί, *viz.*, πέμπει. However, when referred to in the genitive absolute Lysander is supposed to remain on the stage as a discourse participant, for he still has to perform a (syntactic) function (of object) in the sequel (πέμπει αὐτὸν ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου).

In [15], too, the genitive absolute occurs at the point where a conversation between two participants is ended; it may not be purely coincidental that the genitive absolute is chosen when a *conversation* has come to an end, as this also happens in the case of the genitive absolute in [14], whereas in [16], and, for that matter, in [17] the *conjunct* participial clause follows not on a conversation, but on a *speech* by one single participant. In conversations, script-predictable topic switches occur relatively frequently as long as switches occur from one speaker to the other, but a final switch to a participant who is not going to reply but is going to act is less script-predictable. This is precisely what happens in [15]: after the last words spoken by the little Cyrus, we turn to Astyages to learn not just his opinion and reply (as in [16]), but his opinion on the basis of which he changes his mind and takes a decision (κελεύει). Example [15] should be further compared to [14] with respect to the gradual topic switch that is articulated. In [15], too, the referent of αὐτοῦ (Cyrus) has to be stored in the memory of the reader/hearer, as Cyrus still has to perform a

(syntactic) function in the sequel, *viz.*, as the subject of the ὡς-clause[54] dependent on *θαυμάζων* (subject: Astyages).

In both [14] and [15], a conversation is closed off and the new topic becomes dominant, while the old topic remains present in the following discourse. The genitive absolute of [14], then, may be seen as illustrating the aptness of the construction in contexts such as these, while the 'irregular' genitive absolute of [15] should be treated accordingly: on the level of sentence-syntax, it is irregular, on the level of discourse-syntax, its usage becomes comprehensible when viewed against the background offered by, especially, example [14]: the genitive absolute is preferred to a conjunct participle in order to take care of topic management. The fact that the subject of the genitive absolute is expressed by an anaphoric pronoun in [15] is in itself a sign that the genitive absolute performs the function of facilitating participant tracking.[55]

The choice of a genitive absolute construction for reasons of topic management is further illustrated in [18]. Agis is the persistent topic. Typically, new topics are introduced by a full NP in the nominative case, usually accompanied by δέ. Agis is already present in the discourse (τῷ Ἄγιδι), before becoming the topic. When this happens, a genitive absolute is used (*ἐμβαλόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἄγιδος δι' Αὐλῶνος*). Agis, the subject of the genitive absolute (*τοῦ Ἄγιδος*, a full NP), is referred back to by means of the pronoun *αὐτῷ* in the case fitting the main construction; a conjunct participle would have been possible from a syntactical point of view (cf. *προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ … διαβαίνοντι δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν προσεχώρουν*). Subsequently we keep track of him via several preposed conjunct participial clauses (*διαβαίνοντι δὲ τὸν ποταμόν … ἐλθὼν εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν … θύσας δέ*). Thus, the referent filling the subject slot of the preposed genitive absolute will be important in the upcoming discourse, and for reasons of topic management the syntactic demand of agreement is suspended. [56]

[54] Note the translation, where in English 'the boy' has to be inserted for the sake of clarity.

[55] For that matter, back-reference to an already topical participant by means of an anaphoric pronoun is rare in connection with a subclause. A case in point is *Hellenica* 6.1.1-3, to be discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4.2, [7].

[56] See Givón (1993, 202f.) on the topicality of clausal arguments and referential coherence in terms of the referent's accessibility and thematic importance.

To sum up the results of the analysis of the examples [13] through [18]: the choice of the different clause types in the examples [13] through [17], in that order, corresponds to a continuum of articulation of discourse boundaries ranging from the rather deep incision articulated by the clause *ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ᾽ εἶπεν* in [13] to the relatively least deep incision articulated by the clause *ταῦτ᾽ εἰπών* in [17]. The subclause *ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ᾽ εἶπεν* is used after a speech delivered by a discourse participant, but then takes the words spoken as point of departure for a combination of clauses that are both under the scope of the *ἐπεί*-clause, whereas the *ἐπεί*-clause itself, together with other *ἐπεί*-clauses in the context, articulates the thematic stucture of a larger episode. The participial clause *ταῦτ᾽ εἰπών* in [17] is used after a speech just to indicate that the speech has ended, to be followed by a series of (subsequent) actions performed by the one continuous topic.

In between, we have three participial clauses used in situations where a topic switch is articulated. The distribution here has to be accounted for in terms of topic management. The 'regular' genitive absolute in [14] and the 'irregular' one in [15] are used in a situation where a gradual topic switch is articulated at the transition from a conversation between two participants and subsequent actions; the words of the last speaker are summarized by the genitive absolute, and the other participant becomes the new topic, while the referent of the subject of the genitive absolute still has a (syntactic) function to perform in the sequel. The conjunct participial clause *ταῦτα εἰπών* [16], coming after a speech in an alternation of speeches between two participants, is used when a script-predictable topic switch is articulated.

In [15] and [18] the syntactic demand of agreement is suspended. In [15] a topic switch is articulated. The preposed genitive absolute has the former topic expressed as its subject, whose referent needs to remain accessible as a topic in the upcoming discourse. In [18], a thus far non-topical participant is firmly introduced as a topic. The subject of the preposed genitive absolute becomes thematically important in the upcoming discourse.

Finally, the intermediate position in the continuum of articulation of discourse boundaries of the—according to standard grammars—'irregular' genitive absolute in [15] emerges if we consider the use of boundary markers (especially the presence or

absence of δέ) in combination with the different clause types used in [13] through [17] and their peculiarities. Here is an overview:

*Figure 5: Boundary markers and clause types in [13] through [17].*

| | *particle* | *clause type* | *peculiarities* |
|---|---|---|---|
| [13] | δέ | subclause | • subordinating conjunction ἐπεί<br>• order: anaphoric pronoun – verbal constituent<br>• ἔδοξε in the matrix clause personally used<br>• interpretation of the matrix clause as an opinion |
| [14] | δέ | genitive absolute | • order: verbal constituent – anaphoric pronoun<br>• ἔδοξε in the matrix clause impersonally used<br>• interpretation of the matrix clause as a decision |
| [15] | Ø | genitive absolute | • order: anaphoric pronoun – verbal constituent<br>• ἔδοξε in the matrix clause personally used<br>• interpretation of the matrix clause as an opinion<br>• 'subject' expressed as a signal to switch to a new topic |
| [16] | Ø | conjunct participle | • order: anaphoric pronoun – verbal constituent<br>• ἔδοξε in the matrix clause personally used<br>• interpretation of the matrix clause as an opinion |
| [17] | Ø | conjunct participle | • order: anaphoric pronoun – verbal constituent<br>• topic continuity across a multi-clause span |

## 7 *Conclusion*

On the basis of the selection of examples in this Chapter different clause types (independent main clauses, subclauses, and participial clauses, both conjunct and absolute participles) were compared in contexts that differ as little as possible. The usage of alternative expressions found in the NMP's above suggests that the reasons a speaker may have for preferring the one expression to the other vary according to both the *context* and the *text type* in which they are used. In itself the observations made with regard to alternative expressions in NMP's warn us against building up general hypotheses, in that if we want to make claims about, e.g., *the* usage of participles or *the* usage of ἐπεί-clauses, we run the risk of overlooking the differences in the contexts in which they are used.

On the other hand, throughout the discussion of different clause types and clause combinations in the NMP's, it proved useful to describe individual choices on the part of the speaker in terms of presentation of Real World relations, text articulation and/or information processing (including hierarchy of information and topic management). These factors, introduced in Chapter 1, Section 2.2, turned out, either independently of one another or in combination, to be operative on the choice among alternative clause types in their respective contexts. In order to describe the usage of subclauses and participial clauses in clause combining thoroughly these factors will be studied in depth in the next Chapters.

CHAPTER THREE

# PRESENTATION OF REAL WORLD RELATIONS

## *Introduction*

The speaker who has selected two Real World events for recording in a text and wishes to present them in two clauses, may decide to express one of these clauses as grammatically subordinate. He then has to decide whether he wants the subordinate clause to be a subclause or a participial clause. In the case of a subclause, the choice of a subordinating conjunction is compulsory, whereas in the case of a participial clause, he is free to use a relator or not. In Chapter 1, Section 2.2.1, it was claimed that if a Real World relation between the content of the clauses of which the clause combination consists is conceivable and the speaker wishes to indicate this relation, he puts in a subordinating conjunction, and that he may opt for relators that refer to (aspects) of states of affairs in reality (semantically specific relators) or relators that operatie on the discourse level (semantically non-specific relators) according to his aim. As a referential aspect of the communication between the speaker and his audience, the speaker's motivation for choosing one of the available relators deserves careful consideration. The speaker's motivation for choosing one of the subordinating conjunctions, it will appear, is bound up with the kind of relation the speaker experiences in the Real World that he is describing, as well as with the way he wishes to present this relation in a certain context.

## 1 *Subclauses Headed by a Semantically Specific Relator*

### 1.1 *'Causal' Relations*

When the speaker uses the subordinating conjunction διότι or ὅτι at the head of one of the (finite) clauses of a clause combination, thus creating a 'subclause', the relation in the Real World between the

content of the two clauses of which the clause combination consists, is likely to have been experienced by the speaker, but certainly presented as one of 'cause' or 'reason' ('causal', in short), and is to be interpreted as such by his audience; the usage of 'causal' relators in general may be summarized as follows:

*General Description of 'Causal' Relators (διότι and ὅτι)*

By using a clause headed by a 'causal' relator the speaker presents a Real World situation that informs the reader/hearer of either

how the situation described in the clause with which the subclause is combined came about (*'through (the fact that)'*, *'because (of the fact that)'*)

or

which reason explains a discourse participant's behavior as described in the clause with which the subclause is combined (*'because'*, *'as'*)

Examples:

[1] *Anabasis* 2.2.14-15
*ἔτι δὲ ἀμφὶ δείλην ἔδοξαν πολεμίους ὁρᾶν ἱππέας· καὶ τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων οἳ μὴ ἔτυχον ἐν ταῖς τάξεσιν ὄντες εἰς τὰς τάξεις ἔθεον, καὶ Ἀριαῖος—ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἐφ' ἁμάξης πορευόμενος* ***διότι ἐτέτρωτο***—*καταβὰς ἐθωρακίζετο καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ὡπλίζοντο ἧκον λέγοντες οἱ προπεμφθέντες σκοποὶ ὅτι οὐχ ἱππεῖς εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ὑποζύγια νέμοιντο.*

While it was still afternoon they thought that they saw horsemen of the enemy; and such of the Greeks as chanced not to be in the lines proceeded to run to the lines, while Ariaeus, who was making the journey in a wagon **because he was wounded**, got down and put on his breastplate, and his attendants followed his example. While they were arming themselves, however, the scouts who had been sent ahead returned with the report that it was not horsemen, but pack animals grazing.

The narrative statements that Ariaeus got down and put on his breastplate are in themselves perhaps not very important; they are, however, in view of the information expressed in the *γάρ*-clause: the whole brings out a picture of great bravery and perseverance on the part of Ariaeus. The content of both clauses of the parenthetic clause combination *ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἐφ' ἁμάξης πορευόμενος διότι ἐτέτρωτο* contribute to this picture. The clause combination starts off with the statement that Ariaeus made the journey in a wagon. There may be various legitimate reasons for people to travel in a wagon, but here the

narrator does not want his audience to speculate on *reasons* Ariaeus may have had for making the journey in a wagon, and presents us with the Real World situation ('Ariaeus was wounded') that *caused* it. Inasmuch as no other relations between the content of the two clauses of which the parenthetic clause combination consists are supposed to be considered by his audience, the narrator uses the semantically specific 'causal' relator **διότι** to indicate that the content of the clause to follow will explain the occurrence of the fact that Ariaeus made the journey in a wagon.

[2] *Hellenica* 2.1.27
*Λύσανδρος δ', ἐπεὶ ἦν ἡμέρα πέμπτη ἐπιπλέουσι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, εἶπε τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἑπομένοις, ἐπὰν κατίδωσιν αὐτοὺς ἐκβεβηκότας καὶ ἐσκεδασμένους κατὰ τὴν Χερρόνησον—ὅπερ ἐποίουν πολὺ μᾶλλον καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, τά τε σιτία πόρρωθεν ὠνούμενοι καὶ καταφρονοῦντες δὴ τοῦ Λυσάνδρου,* ***ὅτι οὐκ ἀντανῆγεν***—*ἀποπλέοντας τοὔμπαλιν παρ' αὐτὸν ἆραι ἀσπίδα κατὰ μέσον τὸν πλοῦν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν ὡς ἐκέλευσε.*

Lysander, on the fifth day the Athenians sailed out against him, told his men, who followed them back, that as soon as they saw that the enemy had disembarked and had scattered up and down the Chersonese—the Athenians did this far more freely every day; they bought their provisions at a distance and presumed to think lightly of Lysander **because he did not put out to meet them**—they were to sail back to him and to hoist a shield when midway in their course. And they did just as he had ordered.

In this small narrative episode, there are two main events: Lysander said something to his men (**εἶπε τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἑπομένοις**), and they did just as he had ordered (**ἐποίησαν**). What Lysander said to them is reported in a clause combination dependent on **εἶπε**: **ἐπὰν κατίδωσιν αὐτοὺς ἐκβεβηκότας καὶ ἐσκεδασμένους κατὰ τὴν Χερρόνησον ... ἀποπλέοντας τοὔμπαλιν παρ' αὐτὸν ἆραι ἀσπίδα κατὰ μέσον τὸν πλοῦν**. In the middle of this reported speech, the reader/hearer is provided with subsidiary information[1] pertaining to the content of Lysander's protasis: it is stated that they (*sc.* the Athenians) did this (*sc.* disembarking and scattering up and down the Chersonese) far more freely every day (*ὅπερ ἐποίουν πολὺ μᾶλλον καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν*). This statement does not belong to Lysander's reported speech, but is

[1] Hence the imperfect *ἐποίουν*.

Xenophon's own addition. Xenophon also describes why the Athenians acted as they did: they bought their provisions at a distance, and they thought lightly of Lysander (the postposed participial clauses **τά τε σιτία πόρρωθεν ὠνούμενοι καὶ καταφρονοῦντες δὴ τοῦ Λυσάνδρου**). That the Athenians thought lightly of Lysander is marked by **δή** as something the reader/hearer will understand without difficulty: the *reason* for their contempt, of course, was that Lysander did not put out to meet them (**ὅτι οὐκ ἀντανῆγεν**).

The passage is complicated as far as the attribution of opinions is concerned: with the clause **ὅτι οὐκ ἀντανῆγεν** Xenophon gives the reason the Athenians had for thinking lightly of Lysander, as expressed in the participle **καταφρονοῦντες**, which itself is meant to clarify Xenophon's own statement that the Athenians did far more freely every day what Lysander told his men they would be doing. In such a context, the narrator, by using the semantically specific relator **ὅτι** for expressing the 'causal' relation between Lysander's not putting out to meet them and the contempt of the Athenians, secures a felicitous communication with his reader/hearer; the narrator has every reason to be specific about the Real World relation he signals, especially since the one Real World situation ('Lysander **οὐκ ἀντανῆγεν**') is meant to be viewed as the reason not only for the others (**καταφρονοῦντες**) but also for his own evaluation of the attitude of the Athenians as one the reader/hearer will understand without difficulty (**δή**).

[3] *Hellenica* 3.3.1-4

*ἐπεὶ δὲ ὡσιώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι, καὶ ἔδει βασιλέα καθίστασθαι, ἀντέλεγον περὶ βασιλείας Λεωτυχίδης, υἱὸς φάσκων Ἄγιδος εἶναι, Ἀγησίλαος δὲ ἀδελφός. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Λεωτυχίδου·*

Le: *Ἀλλ' ὁ νόμος, ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, οὐκ ἀδελφὸν ἀλλ' υἱὸν βασιλέως βασιλεύειν κελεύει· εἰ δὲ υἱὸς ὢν μὴ τυγχάνοι, ὁ ἀδελφός κα ὡς βασιλεύοι.*

Ag: *Ἐμὲ ἂν δέοι βασιλεύειν.*

Le: *Πῶς, ἐμοῦ γε ὄντος;*

Ag: ***Ὅτι ὃν τὺ καλεῖς πατέρα, οὐκ ἔφη σε εἶναι ἑαυτοῦ.***

Le: *Ἀλλ' ἡ πολὺ κάλλιον ἐκείνου εἰδυῖα μήτηρ καὶ νῦν ἔτι φησίν.*

Ag: *Ἀλλὰ ὁ Ποτειδὰν ὡς μάλα σευ ψευδομένω κατεμήνυσεν ἐκ τοῦ θαλάμου ἐξελάσας σεισμῷ εἰς τὸ φανερὸν τὸν σὸν πατέρα. συνεμαρτύρησε δὲ ταῦτ' αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ἀληθέστατος λεγόμενος χρόνος εἶναι· †ἀφ' οὗ γάρ τοι ἔφυσέ [σε] καὶ ἐφάνη ἐν τῷ θαλάμῳ, δεκάτῳ μηνὶ ἐγένου†.*

*οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτ᾽ ἔλεγον.*

> The prescribed days of mourning had been religiously observed and it was necessary to appoint a king; Leotychides, who claimed to be a son of Agis, and Agesilaus, a brother of Agis, contended for the kingship. Leotychides said: "But, Agesilaus, the law directs, not that a brother, but that a son of a king, should be king; if, however, there should chance to be no son, in that case the brother would be king". "It is I, then, who should be king". "How so?—I am alive". "**Because he whom you call your father said that you were not his son**". "Nay, but my mother, who knows far better than he did, says even to this day that I am". "But Poseidon showed that you are entirely in the wrong, for he drove your father out of her chamber into the open by an earthquake. And time also, which is said to be the truest witness, gave testimony that the god was right; for you were born in the tenth month from the time when he fled from the chamber". Such were the words which passed between these two.

In this passage of direct speech, we have another example of a semantically specific ('causal') relator. When Agesilaus and Leotychides contended for the kingship of Sparta, Agesilaus is reported to have claimed that he should be king (*Ἐμὲ ἂν δέοι βασιλεύειν*). Since a king's son should succeed to the throne, not his brother, Leotychidas replies: "How so? <Give me an explanation of your statement, for> *I* am alive" (*Πῶς, ἐμοῦ γε ὄντος;*). Agesilaus replies: "<I claim this> because he whom you call your father said that you were not his son" (*Ὅτι ὃν τὺ καλεῖς πατέρα, οὐκ ἔφη σε εἶναι ἑαυτοῦ*). The semantically specific 'causal' relator *ὅτι* indicates that the content of the clause serves as an explanation of the content of the clause expressing Agesilaus's claim: it expresses the *reason* Agesilaus had for making the claim. To the best of my knowledge a question introduced by *πῶς* cannot be answered by a statement introduced by a semantically *non-specific* relator, since it is nothing but a reason that is asked for.

### 1.2 *Temporal Relations*

When the speaker uses the subordinating conjunction *ὅτε*, *ἡνίκα*, or *ἐν ᾧ* at the head of one of the (finite) clauses of a clause combination, thus creating a 'subclause', the relation in the Real World between the content of the two clauses of which the clause combination consists, is likely to have been experienced by the speaker, but certainly

presented as temporal, and is to be interpreted as such by his audience.

Regardless of the tense stem of the verbal constituent expressed in the subclause,[2] subclauses headed by ὅτε, ἡνίκα, and ἐν ᾧ may signal all kinds of temporal relations in the Real World, such as 'anteriority' of the event expressed in the subclause vis-à-vis the event expressed in the main clause ('*after*'), 'simultaneity' of the event expressed in the subclause with the event expressed in the main clause ('*while*') or, more neutrally, a certain 'temporal' relation between the event expressed in the subclause and the event expressed in the main clause ('*when*'; see Smith, 1983: 486-487).

*General Description of Temporal Relators (ὅτε, ἡνίκα, and ἐν ᾧ)*

> By using a clause headed by a temporal relator the speaker presents a Real World situation that provides the reader/hearer with a Real World time reference for the content of the clause with which the subclause is combined ('*when*', '*while*', '*after*')
> Sentence-initially placed clauses headed by the temporal relator provide the reader/hearer with a (new) temporal setting for the upcoming text part
> When the Real World situation that is presented in the subclause has already been described, the content of the clause with which the subclause is combined is anchored in the preceding discourse

[4] *Hellenica* 1.6.1-2
*τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει, ᾧ ἥ τε σελήνη ἐξέλιπεν ἑσπέρας καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεὼς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐνεπρήσθη, [Πιτύα μὲν ἐφορεύοντος, ἄρχοντος δὲ Καλλίου Ἀθήνησιν,] οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ παρεληλυθότος ἤδη τοῦ χρόνου [καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τεττάρων καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν] ἔπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς Καλλικρατίδαν.* ***ὅτε δὲ παρεδίδου ὁ Λύσανδρος τὰς ναῦς****, ἔλεγε τῷ Καλλικρατίδᾳ ὅτι θαλαττοκράτωρ τε παραδιδοίη καὶ ναυμαχίᾳ νενικηκώς. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐξ Ἐφέσου ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Σάμου παραπλεύσαντα, οὗ ἦσαν αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων νῆες, ἐν Μιλήτῳ τὰς ναῦς παραδοῦναι, καὶ ὁμολογήσειν θαλαττοκρατεῖν.*

In the ensuing year—the year in which there was an eclipse of the moon one evening, and the old temple of Athena at Athens was burned, [Pityas being now ephor at Sparta and Callias archon at Athens]—the Lacedaemonians sent Callicratidas to take command of the fleet, Lysander's term of office having ended [and with it the

[2] The reader is reminded of example [1] of Chapter 1, Section 1.1.

twenty-fourth year of the war]. **And when Lysander handed over the ships**, he told Callicratidas that he did so as master of the sea and victor in battle. Callicratidas, however, bade him coast along from Ephesus on the left of Samos, where the Athenian ships were, and deliver over the fleet at Miletus; then, he said, he would grant him that he was master of the sea.

Xenophon's account of the events of the 'ensuing year' starts off with a sentence describing the fact that the Lacedaemonians sent Callicratidas to take over the command of the fleet from Lysander. Hereupon we learn that Lysander delivered over the ships, and said something to Callicratidas. The content of the preposed, sentence-initially placed subclause is part of an expectancy chain: after the information that the Lacedaemonians sent Callicratidas to take over the command of the fleet from Lysander, the fact that Lysander delivered over the ships to Callicratidas is exactly what the audience would expect to happen next. As such, the subclause in conveying contextually prepared information initiates the next phase in an ongoing sequence. Further, the narrator uses the subclause to introduce the act of delivering over the ships into the discourse as the appropriate setting for Lysander's reported speech (*παρεδίδου* → *θαλαττοκράτωρ παραδιδοίη*).

While the subclause thus performs a function in the development of the narrative, the relation between the content of the subclause and the content of the following matrix clause is only temporal in nature: the subclause does not present the reader/hearer with a new situation without the knowledge of which he would not be able to comprehend the sequel. For that matter, the act of handing over the ships and the act of speaking may very well have been cotemporal in the Real World—or more or less so; the precise temporal relation does not seem important.

[5] *Anabasis* 2.6.20
… *ᾤετο δὲ ἀρκεῖν πρὸς τὸ ἀρχικὸν εἶναι καὶ δοκεῖν τὸν μὲν καλῶς ποιοῦντα ἐπαινεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἀδικοῦντα μὴ ἐπαινεῖν. τοιγαροῦν αὐτῷ οἱ μὲν καλοί τε καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τῶν συνόντων εὖνοι ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ ἄδικοι ἐπεβούλευον ὡς εὐμεταχειρίστῳ ὄντι.* ***ὅτε δὲ ἀπέθνῃσκεν*** *ἦν ἐτῶν ὡς τριάκοντα.*

… His idea was that, for a man to be and to be thought fit to command, it was enough that he should praise the one who did right and withhold praise from the one who did wrong. Consequently all

> among his associates who were gentlemen were attached to him, but the unprincipled would plot against him in the thought that he was easy to deal with. **At the time of his death** he was about thirty years old.

The example is taken from the 'obituary' of Proxenus the Boeotian, one of the 'obituaries' in *Anabasis* 2.6 of the generals who were put to death: Clearchus, Proxenus the Boeotian, Menon the Thessalian, Agias the Arcadian and Socrates the Achaean, respectively. At the end of each 'obituary', it is stated that the general under consideration died, and, with the exception of Menon, at about what age; cf. *Anabasis* 2.6.15 (Clearchus) ἦν δὲ ὅτε ἐτελεύτα ἀμφὶ τὰ πεντήκοντα ἔτη ('he was about fifty years old at the time of his death'); *Anabasis* 2.6.29 (Menon) ἀπέθανεν, οὐχ ὥσπερ Κλέαρχος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλάς, ὅσπερ τάχιστος θάνατος δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ζῶν αἰκισθεὶς ἐνιαυτὸν ὡς πονηρὸς λέγεται τῆς τελευτῆς τυχεῖν ('he was not, like Clearchus and the rest of the generals, beheaded—a manner of death which is counted speediest—but, report says, was tortured alive for a year and so met the death of a scoundrel'); *Anabasis* 2.6.30 Ἀγίας δὲ ὁ Ἀρκὰς καὶ Σωκράτης ὁ Ἀχαιὸς καὶ τούτω ἀπεθανέτην. τούτων δὲ οὔθ᾽ ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ κακῶν οὐδεὶς κατεγέλα οὔτ᾽ εἰς φιλίαν αὐτοὺς ἐμέμφετο. ἤστην δὲ ἄμφω ἀμφὶ τὰ πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη ἀπὸ γενεᾶς ('Agias the Arcadian and Socrates the Achaean were the two others who were put to death. No one ever laughed at these men as weaklings in war or found fault with them in the matter of friendship. They were both about thirty-five years of age').

From the outset of this piece of embedded expository discourse (2.6.1: οἱ μὲν δὴ στρατηγοὶ οὕτω ληφθέντες ἀνήχθησαν ὡς βασιλέα καὶ ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐτελεύτησαν: 'the generals, then, after being thus seized, were taken to the King and put to death by being beheaded'), and by its very nature of being an obituary, it is clear that the respective generals died. Therefore, in the clause combination ὅτε δὲ ἀπέθνῃσκεν ἦν ἐτῶν ὡς τριάκοντα it is the matrix clause that conveys the 'focal' information, whereas the information in the subclause is 'non-focal'; ὅτε takes care of the temporal organization. Further, the subclause does not articulate a thematic break; rather, the non-focal information creates a frame of reference for the upcoming matrix clause that is exactly in line with the discourse perspective maintained thus far. The only relevant

relation between the content of the two clauses of which the clause combination consists, is a temporal one, as is indicated by ὅτε.

[6] *Hellenica* 4.6.12
*τούτων δὲ γενομένων ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τροπαῖον ἐστήσατο. καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου περιιὼν κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἔκοπτε καὶ ἔκαε· πρὸς ἐνίας δὲ τῶν πόλεων καὶ προσέβαλλεν, ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀναγκαζόμενος, οὐ μὴν εἷλέ γε οὐδεμίαν.* ***ἡνίκα δὲ ἤδη ἐπεγίγνετο τὸ μετόπωρον****, ἀπῄει ἐκ τῆς χώρας.*

Hereupon, Agesilaus set up a trophy. And afterwards, going about through the country, he laid it waste with axe and fire; he also made assaults upon some of the cities, compelled by the Achaeans to do so, but did not really capture any one of them. **And when at length autumn was coming on**, he set about departing from the country.

The subclause ἡνίκα δὲ ἤδη ἐπεγίγνετο τὸ μετόπωρον does several things at the same time: it propels narrative time forward, it initiates the phase of Agesilaus's departure, and it does so by clearly conveying temporal information (ἡνίκα, ἤδη, τὸ μετόπωρον).

It may be relevant that some NP's providing a time reference to Real World when filling the subject slot of a subclause, invariably co-occur with the semantically specific temporal relator ἡνίκα, whereas others invariably co-occur with a semantically non-specific relator. Let us consider in this respect μετόπωρον ('autumn') and δείλη ('afternoon') vs. ἔαρ ('spring'), ἕως ('dawn'), ἡμέρα ('day'), and ἑσπέρα ('evening')—all specific parts of the day or year—filling the subject slot of a subclause in Xenophon's *Hellenica*, *Anabasis*, and *Agesilaus*.[3]

The only occurrence of μετόπωρον as the subject of a subclause is *h.l.* (relator: ἡνίκα). Δείλη fills the subject slot of a subclause three times, all occurrences in the *Anabasis*, and all subclauses are headed by ἡνίκα.[4] Ἔαρ, however, invariably co-occurs with a semantically non-specific relator when filling the subject slot of a subclause: three times in the *Hellenica* (relator: ἐπεί), and once in the *Agesilaus*, a parallel

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[3] As is to be expected with subclauses of this type in narrative discourse, all subclauses discussed in this connection are preposed. The use of verbal aspect in these cases is bound up with the lexical meaning of the verbs as chosen in their respective contexts.

[4] *Anabasis* 1.8.8: ἡνίκα δὲ δείλη ἐγίγνετο ('when afternoon came on'; co-occurring with the subclause ὅτε δὲ ἐγγύτερον ἐγίγνοντο ('when the enemy came nearer and nearer') in the same context and to be discussed below, example [21]); 3.4.34: ἡνίκα δ' ἦν ἤδη δείλη ('as soon as it came to be late in the afternoon'); 3.5.2: ἡνίκα δ' ἦν δείλη ('when it came to be late in the afternoon').

passage of *Hellenica* 3.4.16, where the subclause is headed by ἐπειδή.[5] This difference between 'autumn' and 'spring' is explained easily from the fact that of these two seasons, 'autumn' marks the end of a year's period of military warfare, whereas 'spring' marks its opposite, the beginning, which entails that the beginning of spring, apart from marking a new phase in Real World time, in addition marks the onset of a new episode *on the discourse level*: the starting point of the next military season as well as of a new sequence of narrative events. Indeed, the verbal actions of the matrix clauses combined with the subclauses under consideration underscore this: whereas the matrix clause in [6] expresses Agesilaus's expected retreat (ἀπῄει ἐκ τῆς χώρας), the matrix clauses of the ἐπεί/ἐπειδή ἔαρ-clauses[6] all show verbal actions of attack.[7] The use of a semantically non-specific relator, then, coincides with a thematic break: the beginning of spring provides not only a local frame of reference for the upcoming matrix clause, but also a more global one for a new action sequence to be expressed in the upcoming text segment, so that the semantically non-specific relator signals the importance of the content of the subclause for the discourse structure that is abuilding.

The co-occurrence of ἔαρ and semantically non-specific relators in order to notify of the beginning of spring is mirrored in the notification of the beginning of day: the break of day is reported nine times in a subclause in these three works of Xenophon, eight times with ἡμέρα[8] filling the subject slot, once with ἕως[9]; the subclause is,

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[5] *Hellenica* 3.4.16: ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπειδὴ ἔαρ ὑπέφαινε ('after this, at the first sign of spring' ≈ *Agesilaus* 1.25: ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔαρ ὑπέφαινε: 'at the first sign of spring'); *Hellenica* 5.4.47: ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ ἔαρ ἐπέστη ('when the spring came'); *Hellenica* 5.4.59: ἐπεὶ ἔαρ ὑπέφαινε ('when spring was just beginning').

[6] *Hellenica* 3.4.16: συνήγαγε μὲν ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα εἰς Ἔφεσον ('he gathered his whole army at Ephesus' ≈ *Agesilaus* 1.25: συνήγαγε πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα εἰς Ἔφεσον: 'he gathered his whole army at Ephesus'); *Hellenica* 5.4.47: πάλιν ἔφαινον φρουρὰν οἱ ἔφοροι εἰς τὰς Θήβας, καὶ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου, ᾗπερ τὸ πρόσθεν, ἐδέοντο ἡγεῖσθαι ('the ephors again called out the ban against Thebes and, just as before, requested Agesilaus to take command'); *Hellenica* 5.4.59: οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι (...) πάλιν φρουράν τε ἔφαινον καὶ Κλεόμβροτον ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον ('The Lacedaemonians (...) again called out the ban and directed Cleombrotus to take command').

[7] Note also the difference in the choice of verb of appearance: ἔαρ ὑπέφαινε/ἐπέστη vs. ἐπεγίγνετο τὸ μετόπωρον, the difference in word order, and the addition of ἤδη in the case of 'autumn', also found in the case of 'afternoon' in *Anabasis* 3.4.34: ἡνίκα δ' ἦν ἤδη δείλη ('as soon as it came to be late in the afternoon').

[8] *Hellenica* 5.1.21: ὡς δὲ ἡμέρα ὑπέφαινεν ('as day was dawning'); *Hellenica* 5.4.9:

however, invariably headed by a semantically non-specific subordinator. As in the case of the beginning of spring, the 'arrival' of a new day provides a new frame of reference. For that matter, the remaining three instances of ἡμέρα functioning as the grammatical subject of the subclause support this observation, as these subclauses, too, are headed by a semantically non-specific relator.[10]

One exception to the 'regularity' is provided by *Anabasis* 4.7.27.[11] It is the only occurrence of ἑσπέρα as the grammatical subject of a subclause, and the subclause is also headed by a semantically non-specific subordinator, but this is a special case: it is the one instance in the set where the subclause, although preposed to its matrix clause, is preceded by another (participial) clause in the sentence; a guide shows the Greeks the way, and when evening comes, takes his departure. Here, the subclause introduces the setting the audience had been waiting for since it was stated that the Greeks dismissed the guide (τὸν ἡγεμόνα οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀποπέμπουσι). Exceptionally, the proper time to leave turns out to be the evening; eventually, the wording of the unusual setting is regular.

All in all: in [6], as the reader/hearer needs nothing but a temporal reference, the semantically specific temporal relator ἡνίκα suffices to

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ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα τ' ἦν καὶ φανερὸν ἦν τὸ γεγενημένον, ταχὺ δὴ … ('when day came, and what had taken place was evident, then speedily …'); *Hellenica* 7.4.38: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐπύθοντο οἱ Μαντινεῖς, εὐθὺς … ('when day came and the Mantineans learned what had been done, straightway …'); *Anabasis* 2.2.13: ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο ('for when day came'); *Anabasis* 4.2.7: ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα ὑπέφαινεν ('when day was dawning'); *Anabasis* 4.6.23: ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο ('as soon as day came'); *Anabasis* 7.3.2: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο ('when day came'); *Anabasis* 7.3.41: ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα ἦν ('when day came').

[9] *Anabasis* 2.4.24: ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἕως ἐγένετο ('when dawn came').

[10] These are of the type: 'when day x arrived': *Hellenica* 2.1.27: Λύσανδρος δ', ἐπεὶ ἦν ἡμέρα πέμπτη ἐπιπλέουσι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις … ('Lysander, on the fifth day the Athenians sailed out against him …'); *Anabasis* 4.6.1: ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα ἦν ὀγδόη ('when seven days had passed'); *Anabasis* 6.4.9: ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑστέρα ἡμέρα ἐγένετο τῆς εἰς ταὐτὸν συνόδου ('on the day after the reunion of the three divisions').

[11] *Anabasis* 4.7.27: μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν ἡγεμόνα οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀποπέμπουσι δῶρα δόντες ἀπὸ κοινοῦ ἵππον καὶ φιάλην ἀργυρᾶν καὶ σκευὴν Περσικὴν καὶ δαρεικοὺς δέκα· ᾔτει δὲ μάλιστα τοὺς δακτυλίους, καὶ ἔλαβε πολλοὺς παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν. κώμην δὲ δείξας αὐτοῖς οὗ σκηνήσουσι καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν πορεύσονται εἰς Μάκρωνας, **ἐπεὶ ἑσπέρα ἐγένετο**, ᾤχετο τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπιών ('after this the Greeks dismissed the guide with gifts from the common stock—a horse, a silver cup, a Persian dress, and ten darics; but what he particularly asked the men for was their rings, and he got a considerable number of them. Then he showed them a village to encamp in and the road they were to follow to the country of the Macronians, and, **as soon as evening came**, took his departure').

express the relation between the content of the two clauses of which the clause combination consists.

> [7] *Agesilaus* 2.9-11 (≈ *Hellenica* 4.3.16-17)
> *διηγήσομαι δὲ καὶ τὴν μάχην· καὶ γὰρ ἐγένετο οἵαπερ οὐκ ἄλλη τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν. συνῆσαν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸ κατὰ Κορώνειαν πεδίον οἱ μὲν σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Κηφισοῦ, οἱ δὲ σὺν τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλικῶνος. ἑώρων δὲ τάς τε φάλαγγας ἀλλήλων μάλα ἰσοπάλους, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἦσαν ἑκατέρων ἰσοπληθεῖς. εἶχε δὲ [ὁ] Ἀγησίλαος μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν τοῦ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, Ὀρχομένιοι δὲ ἔσχατοι ἦσαν αὐτῷ τοῦ εὐωνύμου. οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι αὐτοὶ μὲν δεξιοὶ ἦσαν, Ἀργεῖοι δ' αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐώνυμον εἶχον.*
> *συνιόντων δὲ τέως μὲν σιγὴ πολλὴ ἦν ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων· **ἡνίκα δὲ ἀπεῖχον ἀλλήλων ὅσον στάδιον**, ἀλαλάξαντες οἱ Θηβαῖοι δρόμῳ ὁμόσε ἐφέροντο. ὡς δὲ τριῶν ἔτι πλέθρων ἐν μέσῳ ὄντων ἀντεξέδραμον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀγησιλάου φάλαγγος ὧν Ἡριππίδας ἐξενάγει (ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι τῶν τε ἐξ οἴκου αὐτῷ συστρατευσαμένων καὶ τῶν Κυρείων τινές), καὶ Ἴωνες δὲ καὶ Αἰολεῖς καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιοι ἐχόμενοι. καὶ πάντες οὗτοι τῶν συνεκδραμόντων τε ἐγένοντο καὶ εἰς δόρυ ἀφικόμενοι ἐτρέψαντο τὸ καθ' ἑαυτούς.*
>
> I will describe the battle, for there has been none like it in our time. The two armies met in the plain of Coronea, Agesilaus advancing from the Cephisus, the Thebans and their allies from Helicon. Their eyes told them that the opposing lines of battle were exactly matched in strength, and the number of cavalry on both sides was about the same. Agesilaus was on the right wing of his army and had the Orchomenians on his extreme left. On the other side the Thebans themselves were on the right wing and the Argives held the left.
> As they approached both sides for a time maintained complete silence, **but when they were about a furlong apart**, the Thebans raised the battle-cry and rushed forward at the double. The distance between them was still about one hundred yards when the mercenary troops under Herippidas, consisting of the men who had gone with Agesilaus from home and some of the Cyreians, dashed out in turn from their main body, closely followed by Ionians, Aeolians and Hellespontines. All these took part in the dash, and coming within spear-thrust put to flight the force in front of them.

The quotation starts with an announcement on the part of the narrator as to what he is going to do subsequently in the encomium[12]

[12] In cases like this, the future "functions as a textual sequencer and as a text articulating device, providing the audience with an orientation as to what they may expect" (Pfeijffer, 1999: 20). For that matter, the future is also used in the shortened version of the episode in the *Hellenica*.

(*διηγήσομαι δὲ καὶ τὴν μάχην*), and a sequence of introductory sentences describing the situation both parties found themselves in (*συνῆσαν μὲν γάρ … τὸ εὐώνυμον εἶχον*); from this point onwards, the adversaries approach (*συνιόντων δέ*). The narrative is organized in two spatial segments, marked by two genitive absolute constructions + *δέ*: *συνιόντων δέ* and *ὡς δὲ τριῶν ἔτι πλέθρων ἐν μέσῳ ὄντων*. While these genitive absolutes at the same time propel *narrative time* forward, temporal progression of *real time* is indicated within the first spatial segment by means of the clauses headed by *τέως μέν … ἡνίκα δέ*, which combination functions under the scope of the initial *δέ* (*συνιόντων δέ*). As far as the content of these clauses is concerned, the successive temporal phases create suspense: there is a period of time in which silence was maintained on either side, and no action was undertaken, which is followed by one in which the Thebans raised the battle-cry and rushed forward at the double. Schematically:

*Figure 1: Spatio-temporal Segmentation in* Agesilaus *2.10*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Spatial Segment 1 ↓ | | *συνιόντων δέ* |
| | Real Time Temporal Progression ↓ | *τέως μὲν σιγὴ πολλὴ ἦν ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων* |
| | | *ἡνίκα δὲ ἀπεῖχον ἀλλήλων ὅσον στάδιον* |
| Narrative Time | | |
| | | *ἀλαλάξαντες οἱ Θηβαῖοι δρόμῳ ὁμόσε ἐφέροντο* |
| Spatial Segment 2 | | *ὡς δὲ τριῶν ἔτι πλέθρων ἐν μέσῳ ὄντων* |
| ↓ | | *ἀντεξέδραμον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀγησιλάου φάλαγγος ὧν Ἡριππίδας ἐξενάγει…* |

As the organization of the Real World situation *on the discourse level* is taken care of by the genitives absolute, the subclause headed by *ἡνίκα*,

in responding to the *τέως μέν*-clause under the scope of the first genitive absolute, is little else than a device used to indicate a new phase in Real World time as a frame of reference for the upcoming matrix clause only; in such a case the semantically specific (temporal) relator is used.

> [8] *Hellenica* 2.4.12
> *οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἀντενέπλησαν μὲν τὴν ὁδόν, βάθος δὲ οὐ πλέον ἢ εἰς δέκα ὁπλίτας ἐγένοντο. ἐτάχθησαν μέντοι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πελτοφόροι τε καὶ ψιλοὶ ἀκοντισταί, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ πετροβόλοι. οὗτοι μέντοι συχνοὶ ἦσαν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτόθεν προσεγένοντο.* ***ἐν ᾧ δὲ προσῇσαν οἱ ἐναντίοι***, *Θρασύβουλος τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ θέσθαι κελεύσας τὰς ἀσπίδας καὶ αὐτὸς θέμενος, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὅπλα ἔχων, κατὰ μέσον στὰς ἔλεξεν·*
>
> As for the men from Phyle, they too filled the road, but they made a line not more than ten hoplites in depth. Behind the hoplites, however, were stationed peltasts and light javelin-men, and behind them the stone-throwers. And of these there were many, for they came from that neighbourhood. And now, **while the enemy were advancing**, Thrasybulus ordered his men to ground their shields and did the same himself, though still keeping the rest of his arms, and then took his stand in the midst of them and spoke as follows.

Thrasybulus had set out from Thebes and had seized Phyle; the Thirty had marched out from the city against him with the Three Thousand and the cavalry (*Hellenica* 2.4.2). Thrasybulus then took the men of Phyle, and came by night to Piraeus. The Thirty set out against him; they advanced along the carriage road which leads up to Piraeus. For a time[13] the men from Phyle tried to prevent their coming up, but then they gathered in a compact body on the hill of Munichia. The men from the city first formed a line of battle, so that they filled the road; in this formation, they advanced up the hill.

The men from Phyle, too, filled the road: the narrator presents his audience with an extensive description of their battle-line (*βάθος δέ … αὐτόθεν προσεγένοντο*). Then we have the subclause under consideration, which does several things at the same time: it takes the reader/hearer back to the main narrative line after the preceding description of the battle line; it maintains the discourse perspective of two parties opposing one another by mentioning the approach of the

[13] See Chapter 2, Section 2, NMP 2, ex. [4].

other party, which, for that matter, is referred to as 'the enemy', thus securing the point of view of the discourse topic, i.e., Thrasybulus and his men from Phyle; and it is there to highlight the grandeur of Thrasybulus: with the enemy approaching, he still has the nerve to deliver a speech to his men. It does not, however, propel narrative time forward, nor does it move the narrative forward to a new phase on the discourse-level; neither does it present a new Real World situation that the reader/hearer needs to be informed about in order to be able to comprehend the sequel. To all appearances, the subclause, while performing certain discourse functions as subclauses often do, is headed by a semantically specific relator here to prevent the reader/hearer from drawing the conclusion that a new phase is about to begin. The temporal relation between the content of the clauses of which the clause combination consists is all one wants an indication of here.

[9] *Anabasis* 1.10.9-10
*ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσαν κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν Ἑλλήνων κέρας, ἔδεισαν οἱ Ἕλληνες μὴ προσάγοιεν πρὸς τὸ κέρας καὶ περιπτύξαντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτοὺς κατακόψειαν· καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ἀναπτύσσειν τὸ κέρας καὶ ποιήσασθαι ὄπισθεν τὸν ποταμόν.* ***ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο***, *καὶ δὴ βασιλεὺς παραμειψάμενος εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα κατέστησεν ἀντίαν τὴν φάλαγγα ὥσπερ τὸ πρῶτον μαχούμενος συνῄει. ὡς δὲ εἶδον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐγγύς τε ὄντας καὶ παρατεταγμένους, αὖθις παιανίσαντες ἐπῇσαν πολὺ ἔτι προθυμότερον ἢ τὸ πρόσθεν.*

When they were over against the left wing of the Greeks, the latter conceived the fear that they might advance against that wing and, by outflanking them on both sides, cut them to pieces; they thought it best, therefore, to draw the wing back and get the river in their rear. But **while they were taking counsel about this matter**, the King had already changed his line of battle to the same form as theirs and brought it into position opposite them, just as when he had met them for battle the first time. And when the Greeks saw that the enemy were near them and in battle-order, they again struck up the paean and advanced to the attack much more eagerly than before.

The Greeks fear a move by their opponents, and conceive of a countermove (***ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ἀναπτύσσειν τὸ κέρας καὶ ποιήσασθαι ὄπισθεν τὸν ποταμόν***). They do not actually accomplish this countermove, for *while* taking counsel about this matter, the situation changes again, so that the plan need not be carried out. Before the

action of 'deliberating' (ἐβουλεύοντο) is mentioned, the imperfect **ἐδόκει** and the semantically specific temporal relator **ἐν ᾧ** are the linguistic devices inserted in order to suggest to the reader/hearer that the countermove conceived of did not actually take place. This sentence-initially placed subclause headed by **ἐν ᾧ** (δέ), unlike the subclauses headed by **ἐπεί** and **ὡς** + **δέ** in this passage, does not move the discourse forward to a new phase: it is there just to mark the simultaneity of the Greeks deliberating and the King changing his position,[14] which explains why the previous plan was not carried out.

A semantically specific (temporal) relator is especially appropriate when the speaker relates the content of the subclause to the content of its matrix clause, while the subordinated Real World situation serves *solely as a time reference* for the superordinate situation. Examples of this are presented in [10] – [14].

[10] *Hellenica* 2.1.6
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Χῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι συλλεγέντες εἰς Ἔφεσον ἐβουλεύσαντο περὶ τῶν ἐνεστηκότων πραγμάτων πέμπειν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις ταῦτά τε ἐροῦντας καὶ Λύσανδρον αἰτήσοντας ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς, εὖ φερόμενον παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις κατὰ τὴν προτέραν ναυαρχίαν, **ὅτε καὶ τὴν ἐν Νοτίῳ ἐνίκησε ναυμαχίαν.**

After this the Chians and the rest of the allies gathered at Ephesus and resolved, in view of the existing situation, to send ambassadors to Lacedaemon to report the facts and to ask for Lysander as commander of the fleet, a man who was in high favor among the allies as a result of his former command, **when he had won the battle of Notium, too**.

[11] *Hellenica* 4.2.8
καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μέν, ἐπεὶ τὴν κρίσιν ἐποίησεν, ἔχων τὸ στράτευμα ἐπορεύετο τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἥνπερ βασιλεὺς **ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐστράτευεν.**

Then Agesilaus, having made the decision, marched on with his army by the same route which the Persian king followed **when he made his expedition against Greece**.

[14] It is the relator ἐν ᾧ, not the imperfect (ἐβουλεύοντο) as such that indicates simultaneity of situations; cf. Chapter 1, Section 1.1. The imperfect should be explained from its discourse function: it signals that the (durative) action of deliberating is to be connected with the sequel, and in fact is brought to an end when the Greeks realise that the actions παραμειψάμενος … κατέστησεν have been performed (ὡς δὲ εἶδον οἱ Ἕλληνες …).

[12] *Hellenica* 4.8.3
*ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπείθετο ὁ Φαρνάβαζος. ἀποβὰς δ' εἰς Ἔφεσον τῷ μὲν Κόνωνι δοὺς τετταράκοντα τριήρεις εἰς Σηστὸν εἶπεν ἀπαντᾶν, αὐτὸς δὲ πεζῇ παρῄει ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀρχήν. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Δερκυλίδας, ὅσπερ καὶ πάλαι πολέμιος ἦν αὐτῷ, ἔτυχεν ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ὤν,* ***ὅτε ἡ ναυμαχία ἐγένετο****, καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἁρμοσταὶ ἐξέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ κατέσχε τὴν Ἄβυδον καὶ διέσῳζε φίλην τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις. καὶ γὰρ συγκαλέσας τοὺς Ἀβυδηνοὺς ἔλεξε τοιάδε.*

Pharnabazus accordingly accepted this counsel. Then, he disembarked at Ephesus, and gave Conon forty triremes and told him to meet him at Sestus; he himself proceeded by land along the coast to his own province. For Dercylidas, who had long been an enemy of his, chanced to be in Abydus **at the time when the naval battle took place**, and he did not, like the other Lacedaemonian governors, quit the city, but took possession of Abydus and was keeping it friendly to the Lacedaemonians. For he called together the people of the town and spoke as follows.

[13] *Hellenica* 7.1.34
*ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖ ἐγένοντο, πολὺ ἐπλεονέκτει ὁ Πελοπίδας παρὰ τῷ Πέρσῃ. εἶχε γὰρ λέγειν καὶ ὅτι μόνοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων βασιλεῖ συνεμάχοντο ἐν Πλαταιαῖς, καὶ ὅτι ὕστερον οὐδεπώποτε στρατεύσαιντο ἐπὶ βασιλέα, καὶ ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι διὰ τοῦτο πολεμήσειαν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι οὐκ ἐθελήσαιεν μετ' Ἀγησιλάου ἐλθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν οὐδὲ θῦσαι ἐάσαιεν αὐτὸν ἐν Αὐλίδι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ἔνθαπερ* ***ὅτε Ἀγαμέμνων εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐξέπλει*** *θύσας εἷλε Τροίαν.*

The ambassadors arrived there, and Pelopidas enjoyed a great advantage with the Persian. For he was able to say that his people were the only ones among the Greeks who had fought on the side of the King at Plataea, that they had never afterwards undertaken a campaign against the King, and that the Lacedaemonians had made war upon them for precisely the reason that they had declined to go with Agesilaus against him and had refused to permit Agesilaus to sacrifice to Artemis at Aulis, the very spot where Agamemnon, **at the time when he was sailing forth to Asia**, had sacrificed before he captured Troy.

[14] *Anabasis* 1.4.2
*καὶ Κύρῳ παρῆσαν αἱ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου νῆες τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε καὶ ἐπ' αὐταῖς ναύαρχος Πυθαγόρας Λακεδαιμόνιος. ἡγεῖτο δ' αὐταῖς Ταμὼς Αἰγύπτιος ἐξ Ἐφέσου, ἔχων ναῦς ἑτέρας Κύρου πέντε καὶ*

> *εἴκοσιν, αἷς ἐπολιόρκει Μίλητον,* ***ὅτε Τισσαφέρνει φίλη ἦν****, καὶ συνεπολέμει Κύρῳ πρὸς αὐτόν.*[15]
>
> The ships from Peloponnesus arrived to meet Cyrus, thirty-five in number, with Pythagoras the Lacedaemonian as admiral in command of them. They had been guided from Ephesus to Issus by Tamos the Egyptian, who was at the head of another fleet of twenty-five ships belonging to Cyrus—these latter being the ships with which Tamos had besieged Miletus, **at the time when it was friendly to Tissaphernes**, and had supported Cyrus in his war upon Tissaphernes.

The (mainly) postposed *ὅτε*-clauses only serve to locate the content of their matrix clause (note *προτέραν* in [10]) in time; the subordinate events are off the narrative line; it seems relevant that the matrix clauses of these *ὅτε*-clauses are also not narrative clauses: the matrix clause in [10] is a (present stem) dependent clause itself; in [11], [13] and [14] it is a relative clause introduced by a relative pronoun ([11] and [14]: *ἧνπερ βασιλεύς*, *sc.* *ἐπορεύετο*, and *αἷς ἐπολιόρκει Μίλητον*, respectively), or a relative adverb (*ἔνθαπερ* in [13], the *ὅτε*-clause providing a time anchor for the participle *θύσας*, which seems to be the dominant verbal action of the *ἔνθαπερ*-clause, but builds a small action sequence together with *εἷλε*); in [12] the matrix clause is marked as not belonging to the narrative assertion by (*καί*) *γάρ*.[16]

In the following examples of sentence-initially placed subclauses headed by a semantically specific temporal relator and containing the

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[15] *ὅτε* (*ὅτι* det.) … *αὐτόν* del. Cobet.

[16] The scope of these observations is not restricted to Xenophon; cf., for instance, Thucydides 2.13.9: *ταῦτα* ***γὰρ*** *ὑπῆρχεν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἕκαστα τούτων,* ***ὅτε*** *ἡ ἐσβολὴ τὸ πρῶτον ἔμελλε Πελοποννησίων ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καθίσταντο* ('**for** such were the resources of Athens in the different departments **when** the Peloponnesian invasion was impending and hostilities were being commenced'), and 2.21.1: *Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ μέχρι μὲν οὗ περὶ Ἐλευσῖνα καὶ τὸ Θριάσιον πεδίον ὁ στρατὸς ἦν, καί τινα ἐλπίδα εἶχον ἐς τὸ ἐγγυτέρω αὐτοὺς μὴ προϊέναι,* ***μεμνημένοι*** *καὶ Πλειστοάνακτα τὸν Παυσανίου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέα,* ***ὅτε*** *ἐσβαλὼν τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐς Ἐλευσῖνα καὶ Θριῶζε στρατῷ Πελοποννησίων* ***πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου τέσσαρσι καὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν ἀνεχώρησε*** *πάλιν ἐς τὸ πλέον οὐκέτι προελθών—δι' ὃ δὴ καὶ ἡ φυγὴ αὐτῷ ἐγένετο ἐκ Σπάρτης δόξαντι χρήμασι πεισθῆναι [τὴν ἀναχώρησιν]* ('the Athenians, as long as the army was at Eleusis and the Thriasian plain, still entertained some hope that they would not advance any nearer; it was **remembered that** Pleistoanax, son of Pausanias, king of Lacedaemon, had invaded Attica with a Peloponnesian army **fourteen years before**, but **had retreated** without advancing farther than Eleusis and Thria—which indeed proved the cause of his exile from Sparta, as it was thought he had been bribed to retreat'); note that *μεμνημένοι* takes *ὅτε* instead of *ὅτι*.

anaphoric pronoun ***ταῦτα* + *ἦν***, there is a back-reference to events in the preceding discourse. These subclauses, too, serve as a time anchor for the superordinate situation, in a way comparable to ***ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο*** in [9] above, yet here the content of the subclause is entirely given.

[15] *Anabasis* 1.10.15-16
*καὶ ὁ Λύκιος ἤλασέ τε καὶ ἰδὼν ἀπαγγέλλει ὅτι φεύγουσιν ἀνὰ κράτος. σχεδὸν δ' **ὅτε ταῦτα ἦν** καὶ ἥλιος ἐδύετο. ἐνταῦθα δ' ἔστησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ θέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα ἀνεπαύοντο·*

And Lycius rode up, looked, and brought back word that the enemy were in headlong flight. **At about this time** the sun set. Then the Greeks halted, grounded arms, and rested themselves.

[16] *Anabasis* 3.1.33-34
*ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες συνῆλθον, εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν τῶν ὅπλων ἐκαθέζοντο· καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ συνελθόντες στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑκατόν. **ὅτε δὲ ταῦτα ἦν** σχεδὸν μέσαι ἦσαν νύκτες. ἐνταῦθα Ἱερώνυμος Ἠλεῖος πρεσβύτατος ὢν τῶν Προξένου λοχαγῶν ἤρχετο λέγειν ὧδε.*

All had come together, and seated themselves at the front of the encampment; and the generals and captains thus assembled amounted in number to about one hundred. **By this time** it was nearly midnight. Then Hieronymus the Elean, who was the eldest of Proxenus' captains, began to speak as follows.

[17] *Hellenica* 2.3.35-36 (from a speech by Theramenes)
*ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολογούμενος ὡς διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα οὐδὲ πλεῖν, μὴ ὅτι ἀναιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας δυνατὸν ἦν, ἔδοξα τῇ πόλει εἰκότα λέγειν, ἐκεῖνοι δ' ἑαυτῶν κατηγορεῖν ἐφαίνοντο. φάσκοντες γὰρ οἷόν τε εἶναι σῶσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, προέμενοι ἀπολέσθαι αὐτοὺς ἀποπλέοντες ᾤχοντο. οὐ μέντοι θαυμάζω γε τὸ Κριτίαν †παρανενομηκέναι†· **ὅτε γὰρ ταῦτα ἦν**, οὐ παρὼν ἐτύγχανεν, ἀλλ' ἐν Θετταλίᾳ μετὰ Προμηθέως δημοκρατίαν κατεσκεύαζε καὶ τοὺς πενέστας ὥπλιζεν ἐπὶ τοὺς δεσπότας.*

I said in my defence that on account of the storm it was not possible even to sail, much less to pick up the men, and it was decided by the state that my plea was a reasonable one, while the generals were clearly accusing themselves. For they said it was possible to save the men, yet they sailed away and left them to perish. I do not wonder, however, that Critias has misunderstood the matter; **for when these events took place**, it chanced that he was not here; he was establishing a democracy

in Thessaly along with Prometheus, and arming the serfs against their masters.

[18] *Anabasis* 5.1.14-17
*ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀνέκραγον ὡς οὐ δέοι ὁδοιπορεῖν. ὁ δὲ ὡς ἔγνω τὴν ἀφροσύνην αὐτῶν, ἐπεψήφισε μὲν οὐδέν, τὰς δὲ πόλεις ἑκούσας ἔπεισεν ὁδοποιεῖν, λέγων ὅτι θᾶττον ἀπαλλάξονται, ἢν εὔποροι γένωνται αἱ ὁδοί. ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ πεντηκόντορον παρὰ τῶν Τραπεζουντίων, ᾗ ἐπέστησαν Δέξιππον Λάκωνα περίοικον. οὗτος ἀμελήσας τοῦ ξυλλέγειν πλοῖα ἀποδρὰς ᾤχετο ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου, ἔχων τὴν ναῦν. οὗτος μὲν οὖν δίκαια ἔπαθεν ὕστερον· ἐν Θρᾴκῃ γὰρ παρὰ Σεύθῃ πολυπραγμονῶν τι ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ Νικάνδρου τοῦ Λάκωνος. ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ τριακόντορον, ᾗ ἐπεστάθη Πολυκράτης Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς ὁπόσα λαμβάνοι πλοῖα κατῆγεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀγώγιμα εἴ τι ἦγον ἐξαιρούμενοι φύλακας καθίστασαν, ὅπως σῷα εἴη, τοῖς δὲ πλοίοις ἐχρήσαντο εἰς παραγωγήν.* ***ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἦν*** *ἐπὶ λείαν ἐξῇσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐλάμβανον οἱ δὲ καὶ οὔ. Κλεαίνετος δ᾽ ἐξαγαγὼν καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἄλλον λόχον πρὸς χωρίον χαλεπὸν αὐτός τε ἀπέθανε καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ.*

At this the soldiers set up a shout, saying that they did not want to go by land. And Xenophon, realizing their foolishness, did not put any proposal regarding this matter to vote, but persuaded the cities to repair the roads voluntarily, urging that they would be rid of the army the more quickly if the roads should be made easy to travel. Furthermore, they got a fifty-oared warship from the Trapezuntians, and put it under the command of Dexippus, a Laconian perioecus. This fellow, however, paying no heed to the duty of collecting vessels, slipped away with his man-of-war and left the Euxine. He did indeed get his deserts afterwards; for being engaged in some intrigue at the court of Seuthes in Thrace he was killed by Nicander the Laconian. They also got a thirty-oared galley, and put it under the command of Polycrates the Athenian, who brought in to the camp all the merchant vessels that he captured. And they would unload the cargoes, in case the ships had any, and put them under guard, in order to keep these safe, and they used the vessels themselves for transport service. **While these things were going on**, the Greeks were making forays in quest of booty, and while some parties would secure it, others did not. Cleaenetus led forth his own company and another against a difficult stronghold, and the commander himself was killed and many of his men besides.

The Real World situation referred to by ***ταῦτα ἦν*** is to be deduced entirely from the context,[17] so that the content of the matrix clause is

[17] Subclauses of the type [semantically specific temporal relator + ***ταῦτα ἦν***] seem

additionally anchored in the preceding discourse, to various effects. In [15] and [16], narrative time is brought to a standstill (note the imperfects in the matrix clauses and the continuation with ἐνταῦθα), and it is stated about (σχεδόν) what time of day the preceding events (summarized by ταῦτα) took place. The use of a semantically specific (temporal) relator is in place when a subclause is combined with a matrix clause providing a temporal reference.

In [17], the speaker explains his statement οὐ μέντοι θαυμάζω γε κτἑ in a γάρ-clause. He is going to argue that Critias could not have known the facts of the matter because he was not there when he could have learned them. As part of his rhetoric, the speaker presents his audience with his reconstruction of past events. To this end, he uses the semantically specific relator ὅτε and summarizes the things (ταῦτα) he and his audience know at this point of the speech, but Critias did not.

The relator ἐν ᾧ is used in [18] at a point when the camera shifts from the dealings with the ships to cotemporal events performed by a new topic (οἱ Ἕλληνες). The back-reference headed by the semantically specific (temporal) relator secures the interpretation of simultaneity between the adjacent discourse units, thus solving the problem of how to present parallel action in text.

Another subcategory of clause combinations where a semantically specific (temporal) relator is in place is constituted by sentences structured 'situation x obtained, when…', where the matrix clause conveys information about the time and/or the place of the (upcoming) action, while the main assertion is to be found in the postposed subclause. This literary-stylistic manner of presentation is a way of creating suspense (note the historical present προφαίνεται in [19]), and owes its *raison d'être* to the temporal relation between the

to be a peculiarity of Xenophon's; cf. however sentence-initially placed ἐν ᾧ-clauses in combination with deictic anaphoric pronouns in Herodotus, *Histories*, 3.19: ἐν ᾧ δὲ τούτους μετήισαν, ἐν τούτῳ … ('while they were fetching them, at this juncture …'); 3.74: ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι ταῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο, ἐγίνετο κατὰ συντυχίην τάδε ('while they were making these plans, by coincidence the following happened'; note the use of ἐν ᾧ in de case of coincidence); 3.136: ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι ταῦτα ἔπασχον ('while they were in this plight'); 4.95: ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἐποίεε τὰ καταλεχθέντα καὶ ἔλεγε ταῦτα, ἐν τούτῳ … ('while he was doing as I have said and teaching this doctrine, at this juncture …'); 4.124: ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτος πρὸς ταῦτα ἐτρέπετο ('while he was occupied with these'); 6.97: ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι ταῦτα ἐποίευν ('while they did this'), and the preposed ἐν ᾧ-clause in 1.186: ἐν ᾧ ἐπίμπλατο τοῦτο, ἐν τούτῳ … ('while it was filling, at this juncture …').

content of the clauses of which the clause combination consists; hence the semantically specific temporal relator *ἡνίκα*:

[19] *Anabasis* 1.8.1
*καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν ἀμφὶ ἀγορὰν πλήθουσαν καὶ πλησίον ἦν ὁ σταθμὸς ἔνθα ἔμελλε καταλύειν,* ***ἡνίκα Πατηγύας, ἀνὴρ Πέρσης τῶν ἀμφὶ Κῦρον χρηστός, προφαίνεται ἐλαύνων ἀνὰ κράτος ἱδροῦντι τῷ ἵππῳ, καὶ εὐθὺς πᾶσιν οἷς ἐνετύγχανεν ἐβόα καὶ βαρβαρικῶς καὶ ἑλληνικῶς ὅτι βασιλεὺς σὺν στρατεύματι πολλῷ προσέρχεται ὡς εἰς μάχην παρεσκευασμένος****.*

It was now about full-market time and the stopping-place where Cyrus was intending to halt had been almost reached, **when Pategyas, a trusty Persian of Cyrus' staff, came into sight, riding at full speed, with his horse in a sweat, and at once shouted out to everyone he met, in the barbarian tongue and in Greek, that the King was approaching with a large army, all ready for battle.**

[20] *Anabasis* 1.8.17
*ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν εἰς τὴν αὑτοῦ χώραν ἀπήλαυνε. καὶ οὐκέτι τρία ἢ τέτταρα στάδια διειχέτην τὼ φάλαγγε ἀπ' ἀλλήλων* ***ἡνίκα ἐπαιάνιζόν τε οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ ἦρχοντο ἀντίοι ἰέναι τοῖς πολεμίοις****.*

Upon saying these words he rode back to his own position. At length the opposing lines were not three or four stadia apart, **when the Greeks struck up the paean and began to advance against the enemy.**

To conclude this Section, here are two special examples: [21], in which semantically specific (temporal) relators (*ἡνίκα*, *ὅτε*) are exceptionally used twice in the same context and arguably organize the discourse in phases, and [22] in which a postposed subclause headed by a semantically specific (temporal) relator (*ὅτε*) can be compared to a subclause headed by a semantically non-specific relator (*ἐπεί*), as the two clauses at different points in the *Anabasis* refer to more or less the same Real World situation:

[21] *Anabasis* 1.8.8
*καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν μέσον ἡμέρας καὶ οὔπω καταφανεῖς ἦσαν οἱ πολέμιοι·* ***ἡνίκα δὲ δείλη ἐγίγνετο****, ἐφάνη κονιορτὸς ὥσπερ νεφέλη λευκή, χρόνῳ δὲ συχνῷ ὕστερον ὥσπερ μελανία τις ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐπὶ πολύ.* ***ὅτε δὲ ἐγγύτερον ἐγίγνοντο****, τάχα δὴ καὶ χαλκός τις ἤστραπτε καὶ λόγχαι καὶ αἱ τάξεις καταφανεῖς ἐγίγνοντο. καὶ ἦσαν…*

> And now it was midday, and the enemy were not yet in sight. **When afternoon came on**, there was seen a rising dust, <which appeared at first> like a white cloud; some time later <it appeared> like a kind of blackness in the plain, extending over a great distance. **When the enemy came nearer and nearer**, there was presently bronze flashing here and there and spears and the hostile ranks came into sight. And there were…

In this piece of discourse the speaker is unequivocally concerned with temporal organization (*ἤδη … ἦν μέσον ἡμέρας … οὔπω … ἡνίκα δὲ δείλη ἐγίγνετο … χρόνῳ δὲ συχνῷ ὕστερον … ὅτε … τάχα δή*). The subclauses under consideration propel narrative time forward; both subclauses can be replaced by a phrase like 'after some time' or 'some time later'. In the first sentence, two statements, closely connected by *τε … καί*, are presented: it was midday and the enemy were not in sight. The temporal situation as expressed in this first sentence is altered in the second sentence: the preposed, sentence-initially placed temporal subclause *ἡνίκα δείλη ἐγίγνετο* propels narrative time forward and presents a new *temporal* setting for the description of the hostile army coming in sight. This description fills the rest of the episode, in successive steps that are also temporally organized: note *χρόνῳ δὲ συχνῷ ὕστερον*, *ὅτε δέ … τάχα δή*. Regarding the distribution of particles, the *δέ* after *ἡνίκα* signals the next step in the main line temporal sequence, whereas the instances of *δέ* after *χρόνῳ* and *ὅτε* present successive steps in time, to be continued with *καὶ* (*ἦσαν*), under the scope of the initial *δέ*, inasmuch as these events occurred '*ἡνίκα δείλη ἐγίγνετο*'. It should be noted that the verbal constituents of the two temporal subclauses are imperfects (*ἐγίγνετο*, *ἐγίγνοντο*). This is because the content of these clauses is not asserted as such. Throughout the passage, the presence of the narrator reduced to a minimum, in order to create the narratological effect of relaying the events from the point of view of the Greeks. Compare for instance the aspect of 'visualization' as praised by Lendle in his commentary *ad loc.* (1995: 67): "Man spürt dem Bericht Xenophons die Spannung an, mit welcher er das eindrucksvolle Manöver beobachtet hat, und muß die Anschaulichkeit seiner Darstellung bewundern: man sieht förmlich die Blitze vor Augen, welche von den blank geputzten Speerspitzen, Harnischen, Metallbeschlägen der gepanzerten Pferde usw. je nach ihrer Bewegung vor dem dunklen Hintergrund aufstrahlten und wieder verloschen." Lendle's

impression of the 'Anschaulichkeit seiner Darstellung' may be substantiated by appreciating Xenophon's narratorial procedure of presenting the events from a character's point of view: there are several indications in the context that the point of view from which the events are relayed is that of the Greeks: *ἤδη* (referring to a character's experience of the 'story-now'), ***οὔπω καταφανεῖς ἦσαν οἱ πολέμιοι*** (for the Greeks, as appears from ***οἱ πολέμιοι***), ***ἐφάνη … ὥσπερ*** (twice, introducing what the rising dust appeared like to the Greeks), ***τάχα δή*** (referring to a character's experience of the 'story-now' while the increasingly more specific signs that an army is approaching correspond to what the Greeks actually saw).

The function of the present stem subclauses headed by semantically specific (temporal) relators in the presentation of Real World relations and in text articulation are closely connected in this strongly visualized account of the approach of the enemy. In designating specific moments in Real Time,[18] the subclauses provide the appropriate temporal frame of reference for the upcoming matrix clause. Successive phases are thus articulated. At the onset of each new phase, we are reminded that time has passed in the Real World. This creates suspense, and in accordance with the overall design of this passage in which the narrator uses the Greeks as focalizers, the reader/hearer is on a level with the Greeks who are waiting for the enemy to appear.

The usage of semantically specific vs. semantically non-specific relators can be appreciated by comparing the following two instances of (postposed) subclauses; the two passages from the first and the fifth book of the Anabasis are both about the three thousand darics Cyrus gave to the soothsayer Silanus. While sacrificing, Silanus had predicted that the King would not fight within ten days. Cyrus promised to give him three thousand darics/ten talents if it would appear that he spoke the truth. After the ten days had passed without the King attacking, Cyrus gave him the money.

> [22a] *Anabasis* 5.6.18
> *αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Σιλανὸς ἐβούλετο ὅτι τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφικέσθαι· οὓς γὰρ παρὰ Κύρου ἔλαβε τρισχιλίους δαρεικοὺς* ***ὅτε τὰς δέκα ἡμέρας ἠλήθευσε θυόμενος*** *Κύρῳ, διεσεσώκει.*

[18] Perhaps the time reference of *ἡνίκα* is somewhat more specific than that of *ὅτε*.

As for Silanus, his own desire was to reach Greece as quickly as possible; for the three thousand darics, which he had received from Cyrus **at the time when he sacrificed for him and had told the truth about the ten days**, he had brought safely through.

[22b] *Anabasis* 1.7.18-19
*ἐνταῦθα Κῦρος Σιλανὸν καλέσας τὸν Ἀμπρακιώτην μάντιν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ δαρεικοὺς τρισχιλίους, ὅτι τῇ ἐνδεκάτῃ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἡμέρᾳ πρότερον θυόμενος εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὅτι βασιλεὺς οὐ μαχεῖται δέκα ἡμερῶν, Κῦρος δ' εἶπεν· "οὐκ ἄρα ἔτι μαχεῖται, εἰ ἐν ταύταις οὐ μαχεῖται ταῖς ἡμέραις· ἐὰν δ' ἀληθεύσῃς, ὑπισχνοῦμαί σοι δέκα τάλαντα." τοῦτο τὸ χρυσίον τότε ἀπέδωκεν,* ***ἐπεὶ παρῆλθον αἱ δέκα ἡμέραι.***
*ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ οὐκ ἐκώλυε βασιλεὺς τὸ Κύρου στράτευμα διαβαίνειν, ἔδοξε καὶ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπεγνωκέναι τοῦ μάχεσθαι· ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ Κῦρος ἐπορεύετο ἠμελημένως μᾶλλον.*

Then Cyrus summoned Silanus, his Ambraciot soothsayer, and gave him three thousand darics; for on the eleventh day before this, sacrificing, he had told Cyrus that the King would not fight within ten days, and Cyrus had said: "Then he will not fight at all, if he will not fight within ten days; however, if your prediction proves true, I promise you ten talents". So it was this money that he then paid over, **the ten days having passed**.
But in view of the fact that the King did not appear at the trench and try to prevent the passage of Cyrus' army, both Cyrus and the rest concluded that he had given up the idea of fighting. Hence on the following day Cyrus proceeded more carelessly.

In [22a] the matrix clause of the subclause is presented as an explanation (*γάρ*) for the statement that Silanus desired to reach Greece as soon as possible; we are informed that he had brought safely through the three thousand darics he had received from Cyrus. The specific relator *ὅτε* indicates that the content of the subclause ('he sacrificed for him and had told the truth about the ten days') is to be related temporally to the content of its matrix clause (*παρὰ Κύρου ἔλαβε τρισχιλίους δαρεικούς*); this is appropriate here since the subclause conveys information that owes its relevance to its function of locating the event expressed in the matrix clause (which is not a narrative clause) in time,[19] and at the same time it reminds the

[19] Cf. the postposed *ὅτε*-clauses in [10] - [14]; for back-reference in a *ὅτε*-clause, compare [17].

reader/hearer of a passage already narrated, *viz.*, in *Anabasis*, 1.7.18-19, cited in [22b].

In [22b], we start with the statement that Cyrus called Silanus and gave him three thousand darics. The reason for this is introduced by the semantically specific 'causal' relator ὅτι, which expresses the reason for Cyrus's behavior and introduces a small embedded episode consisting of the encounter between Cyrus and Silanus ten days before the contextual reference point (the narrative present). After the embedded episode there is an asyndetic clause (τοῦτο τὸ χρυσίον τότε ἀπέδωκεν), which closes off this short digression. The information it contains is entirely given; note the anaphoric pronoun τοῦτο and the lexical overlap in ἔδωκεν/ἀπέδωκεν—the compound verb is appropriate as in between ἔδωκεν and ἀπέδωκεν we have been told about Cyrus's promise. The information contained in the postposed subclause ἐπεὶ παρῆλθον αἱ δέκα ἡμέραι is also given: that the ten days had passed may be gathered from ἐνταῦθα Κῦρος ... ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ δαρεικοὺς τρισχιλίους ... τῇ ἐνδεκάτῃ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἡμέρᾳ πρότερον ... δέκα ἡμερῶν ... εἰ ἐν ταύταις οὐ μαχεῖται ταῖς ἡμέραις ... τοῦτο τὸ χρυσίον τότε ἀπέδωκεν. Here, the subclause is not meant to locate the event expressed in the matrix clause in time; the temporal situation is sufficiently clear from the context: the preceding matrix clause contains the temporal adverbial τότε, and the article αἱ in αἱ δέκα ἡμέραι is used in order to indicate that the narrator is speaking about the same ten days as he was before. Further, a semantically specific relator would have been inexpedient, because here, the subclause defines a Real World situation that explains a constituent (τότε) in its matrix clause: 'it was this money that he *then* paid over *inasmuch as* the ten days <mentioned> had passed'.

In this example, the difference between a subclause headed by a semantically specific relator and a subclause headed by a non-specific relator emerges as one of providing the reader/hearer with a time anchor for the content of the matrix clause vs. presenting a Real World situation the reader/hearer needs for a successful comprehension of (an entity in) the text, respectively. To what extent the use of the ἐπεί-clause in [22b] is in accordance with the usage of subclauses headed by a semantically non-specific relator in general will be seen in the light of the discussion in Section 2 of

(predominantly preposed) subclauses headed by a semantically non-specific relator.

### 1.3 *Conclusion*

Whether a subclause is preposed or postposed to its matrix clause, and irrespective of the nature of the relator, there is always a relation between the content of the clauses of which the clause combination consists. In the case of subclauses used in historiographic narative, this means that the historian has decided to select (at least) two Real World 'happenings' for recording at a certain point in his text, and to communicate to the recipient of the text that he has perceived or conceived a relation between them. As such, this involves a first decision on presentation. A second decision on presentation can be made, that is: the historian may decide to specify this relation. When this happens, the historian narrows down the possibly conceivable semantic relations between the content of the two clauses to the appropriate one. Thus, when for instance he uses ὅτι or διότι, the relation is presented as 'causal'; when, on the other hand, he uses ὅτε, ἡνίκα, or ἐν ᾧ, a Real Time relation between events is indicated, ἐν ᾧ usually indicating simultaneity of the two situations described. While this happens within the sentence, such subclauses may evoke other parts of the text, and therewith add to the comprehension of the content of the matrix clause within the discourse as a whole—whether the subclause is preposed ([5], [8], [9], [15], [16], [17], [18]) or postposed ([22a]). Preposed subclauses headed by a semantically specific relator when accompanied by δέ may help to articulate individual segments of the text. The nature of the relator involved then determines the nature of the organization of the discourse at that point. Thus, while the preposed subclauses headed by a temporal relator in [6], [7], and [21] mark Real Time temporal progression at the onset of a new segment, successive temporal phases are articulated. The articulation of unequivocally temporal boundaries typically occurs within a larger thematic unit. This may happen at its closure ([6]), or within one differently organized: see [7], which is spatially organized by a genitive absolute and a ὡς-clause, and especially [21], where two temporal subclauses articulate small-scale boundaries in an episode about the enemy of the Greeks coming into sight, as appears from the word καταφανεῖς framing the thematic unit

in the first and last sentence of the quotation. While a semantically specific relation seems mainly a matter of sentence syntax, any description of subclauses headed by a semantically specific relator should also include their discourse function.

## 2 *Subclauses Headed by a Semantically Non-specific Relator*

If a relation between the content of the clauses of which the clause combination consists is conceivable, semantically non-specific relators (ἐπεί, ἐπειδή, and ὡς) provide the Greek speaker with the opportunity of relating the Real World situation presented in the subclause to the content of its matrix clause, while performing a discourse function at the same time. The existence of this category of non-specific relators in Ancient Greek poses difficulties in translation, as in modern western languages we do not possess such relators, so that often in translation the semantic relation is necessarily specified.

In the case of clause combinations consisting of a preposed subclause headed by a semantically non-specific relator and finite main clause, the verbs of both clauses are usually indicatives and more often than not refer to an action or position [+ control]. In the discussion of ἐπεί-, ἐπειδή-, and ὡς-clauses, hardly any attention has been paid to clause combinations that do not fit this regularity. Two cases in point are:

[23] *Anabasis* 3.4.49
ὁ (*sc.* Ξενοφῶν) δὲ ἀναβάς, ἕως μὲν βάσιμα ἦν, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἦγεν, **ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄβατα ἦν**, καταλιπὼν τὸν ἵππον ἔσπευδε πεζῇ.

Then Xenophon remounted, and as long as (μέν) riding was possible, led the way on horseback, **ἐπεὶ (δέ) riding was impossible**, he left his horse behind and hurried forward on foot.

[24] *Agesilaus* 1.7-10
βουλευομένων δὲ περὶ τούτων Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, Ἀγησίλαος ὑπέστη, ἐὰν δῶσιν αὐτῷ τριάκοντα μὲν Σπαρτιατῶν, δισχιλίους δὲ νεοδαμώδεις, εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους δὲ τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν συμμάχων, διαβήσεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ πειράσεσθαι εἰρήνην ποιῆσαι, ἢ ἂν πολεμεῖν βούληται ὁ βάρβαρος, ἀσχολίαν αὐτῷ παρέξειν στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας. εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ πάνυ ἠγάσθησαν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ⟨τὸ⟩ ἐπιθυμῆσαι, ἐπειδὴ ὁ Πέρσης πρόσθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διέβη, ἀντιδιαβῆναι ἐπ' αὐτόν, τό τε αἱρεῖσθαι

*ἐπιόντα μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπομένοντα μάχεσθαι αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸ τἀκείνου δαπανῶντα βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολεμεῖν, κάλλιστον δὲ πάντων ἐκρίνετο ⟨τὸ⟩ μὴ περὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς Ἀσίας τὸν ἀγῶνα καθιστάναι.*

***ἐπεί γε μὴν λαβὼν τὸ στράτευμα ἐξέπλευσε***, *πῶς ἄν τις σαφέστερον ἐπιδείξειεν ὡς ἐστρατήγησεν ἢ εἰ αὐτὰ διηγήσαιτο ἃ ἔπραξεν;*

*ἐν τοίνυν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἥδε πρώτη πρᾶξις ἐγένετο.*

The Lacedaemonians and their allies were considering the matter, when Agesilaus declared, that if they would give him thirty Spartans, two thousand newly enrolled citizens, and a contingent of six thousand allies, he would cross to Asia and try to effect a peace, or, in case the barbarian wanted to fight, would keep him so busy that he would have no time for an attack on the Greeks. His eagerness to pay back the Persian in his own coin for the former invasion of Greece, his determination to wage an offensive rather than a defensive war, and his wish to make the enemy pay for it rather than the Greeks, were enough to arouse an immediate and widespread enthusiasm for his project. But what appealed most to the imagination was the idea of entering on a struggle not to save Greece, but to subdue Asia.

**He then took the army and set out**; how could one give a clearer description of the kind of general he was than by narrating the things he did?

This, then, was his first act in Asia.

In [23], the subclause ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄβατα ἦν is followed by a matrix clause that contains two narrative statements (**καταλιπὼν τὸν ἵππον ἔσπευδε πεζῇ**). The ἐπεί-clause corresponds to the subclause ἕως μὲν βάσιμα ἦν; since ἕως, too, is often classified as a temporal subordinator, there seems to be a temporal nuance involved in this correspondence, but what happens here is that the ἐπεί-clause describes a new phase within a larger whole. Substituting a semantically specific, temporal relator for ἐπεί, however, would result in indicating an inexpedient temporal relation between *the condition of a piece of land* (cf. ἦν) and actions performed by a participant.

Still, there is a relation between the content of the subclause and the content of its matrix clause: the fact that the ground was not to be trodden <by horses> should be taken as the story participant's motive for leaving his horse behind and hurrying forward on foot. Replacing ἐπεί with a semantically specific 'causal' relator, on the other hand, would not seem possible either in this context, given the correspondence with ἕως: it would result in placing the content of the

subclause outside the narrative sequence as expressing the Real World situation referred to solely as the 'cause' for Xenophon's leaving his horse behind and hurrying forward on foot, whereas the *ἐπεί*-clause in the sequence of narrative statements presents a factual Real World situation as the frame of reference for the sequel.

The corresponding clauses *ἕως μὲν βάσιμα ἦν* … *ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄβατα ἦν* together effect a change in the situation described; there is a contrast in the conditions of the ground. The *ἐπεί*-clause presents the (altered) situation as experienced by a story participant, which motivates his change of conduct.

In [24], the preposed *ἐπεί*-clause presenting a narrative statement ('he [*sc.* Agesilaus] <then> took the army and sailed out') is followed by a (rhetorical) question ('how could one give a clearer description of the kind of general he was than by narrating the things he did?'). Neither a semantically specific 'causal' nor a semantically specific 'temporal' relator is expedient, since there is no relation between the occurrence of the two states of affairs in the real world; rather, the speaker signals that there is a relation between the subordinated Real World situation (*λαβὼν τὸ στράτευμα ἐξέπλευσε*) and the content of the encomium at this point: that Agesilaus took the army and sailed out is a step which follows naturally on the preceding deliberations to go to Asia, and these events provide him with the opportunity to bring up the theme of Agesilaus's qualities as a general. Once *τὸ στράτευμα* has been mentioned, the speaker deems it appropriate to raise the question of how to describe best *ὡς ἐστρατήγησεν* (note the lexical overlap).

Here, the Real World event presented in the *ἐπεί*-clause is related to the speaker's constitution of the text,[20] at the point where there is a thematic shift (Agesilaus in his capacity as king → Agesilaus in his capacity as general).[21] This relation could not have been expressed by a semantically specific relator, nor can we bring out this relation by a subordinating conjunction in translation.

[20] Cf. also *Agesilaus* 2.25: ***ἐπεί γε μὴν ἀπεχώρησε τὸ στράτευμα***, *πῶς οὐκ ἂν φαίη τις αὐτὸν εὐγνωμόνως χρῆσθαι ἑαυτῷ;* ('**given the fact that the army <of the enemy> retired**, how could one deny that his conduct was marked by good sense?').

[21] Note also the spatial discontinuity: Sparta → Asia and the linguistic marking by *γε μήν*.

Whether the matrix clause following on the subclause headed by a semantically non-specific relator presents a narrative statement or not, the speaker uses the preposed subclause to inform his audience about a certain Real World situation. By implication, this takes the form of a factual statement on the part of the speaker. We may thus say that the preposed subclause when headed by a semantically non-specific relator presents a Real World situation the reader/hearer needs to be informed about in order to be able to comprehend the sequel. This leads to different interpretations of the subclause in different contexts.[22] As was stated in Chapter 1, Section 2.2.1, *ceteris paribus* the order in which the events are narrated mirrors the speaker's perception of the succession in real time of the Real World 'happenings' they represent. When both the preposed subclause and the following matrix clause present a narrative statement, the events described in the two clauses are interpreted as 'in sequence', in which case we will probably use the subordinating conjunction 'when' (or: 'after'); when we can conceive of a 'causal' relation between the content of the clauses of which the clause combination consists we may think of 'because'; however, in translation 'when' is still to be preferred. Out of necessitity we bring out our interpretation[23] of the

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[22] In text types other than narratives, semantically non-specific relators may be put in to signal relations between the content of clauses of a different type. For instance in Plato, *Gorgias* 448 b11-c3: ΧΑΙ.—*Εἰ δέ γε ἧσπερ Ἀριστοφῶν ὁ Ἀγλαοφῶντος ἢ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ἔμπειρος ἦν τέχνης, τίνα ἂν αὐτὸν ὀρθῶς ἐκαλοῦμεν;*—ΠΩΛ.—*Δῆλον ὅτι ζωγράφον.*—ΧΑΙ.—*Νῦν δ'* ***ἐπειδὴ τίνος τέχνης ἐπιστήμων ἐστίν****, τίνα ἂν καλοῦντες αὐτὸν ὀρθῶς καλοῖμεν;* ('CHAE.—And if Gorgias were expert in the same art as Aristophon, son of Aglaophon, or his brother, what name should we rightly give him?—POL.—Obviously that of painter.—CHAE.—But as it is, **since** <we would like to know> **in what art he is skilled**, by what name we should rightly call him?'), not only the matrix clause, but even the subordinate clause itself are interrogative clauses. *Ἐπειδή* indicates that, according to the speaker, the two questions are related, insofar as the answer to the second question will be found without difficulty once the first question is answered. Cf. also the usage of semantically non-specific relators heading clauses in clause combinations usually regarded as paratactic, e.g., Plato, *Gorgias* 474 b6-7: *ἐγὼ δέ γε οὔτ' ἐμὲ οὔτ' ἄλλον ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα.* ***ἐπεὶ σὺ δέξαι' ἂν μᾶλλον ἀδικεῖσθαι ἢ ἀδικεῖν****;* ('and I, that neither I nor anyone else in the world believes it. **You would choose rather to suffer wrong than to do it, wouldn't you?**') and Plato, *Gorgias* 473 e3-4: *οὐκ οἴει ἐξεληλέγχθαι, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὅταν τοιαῦτα λέγῃς ἃ οὐδεις ἂν φήσειεν ἀνθρώπων;* ***ἐπεὶ ἐροῦ τινα τουτωνί*** ('do you not think yourself utterly refuted, Socrates, when you make such statements as nobody in the world would assent to? **You have only to ask anyone of the company here**').

[23] The reader will observe on the basis of the views presented in this Section that I

relation between the content of the two clauses of which the clause combination consists in translation when using a modern language in which a semantically non-specific relator is not available. When, on the other hand, the matrix clause following on the subclause headed by a semantically non-specific relator does not present a narrative statement, the subclause itself still presents information about a Real World situation that serves as a frame of reference necessary for the comprehension on the part of the reader/hearer of whatever follows.

In the remainder of this Section, the claims made above will be substantiated and illustrated on the basis of examples of preposed subclauses headed by a semantically non-specific relator and presenting a Real World situation in divergent contexts. Here is an example from direct speech:

[25] *Anabasis* 3.3.11-13
*ἔνθα δὴ πάλιν ἀθυμία ἦν. καὶ Χειρίσοφος καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν στρατηγῶν Ξενοφῶντα ᾐτιῶντο ὅτι ἐδίωκεν ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος καὶ αὐτός τε ἐκινδύνευε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐδύνατο βλάπτειν. ἀκούσας δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἔλεγεν ὅτι ὀρθῶς αἰτιῷντο καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς μαρτυροίη. "ἀλλ' ἐγώ", ἔφη, "ἠναγκάσθην διώκειν,* ***ἐπειδὴ ἑώρων ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ μένειν κακῶς μὲν πάσχοντας, ἀντιποιεῖν δὲ οὐ δυναμένους. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδιώκομεν****, ἀληθῆ, ἔφη, ὑμεῖς λέγετε· κακῶς μὲν γὰρ ποιεῖν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐδυνάμεθα τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀνεχωροῦμεν δὲ παγχαλέπως…"*

Here again there was despondency. And Cheirisophus and the eldest of the generals found fault with Xenophon for leaving the main body of the army to undertake a pursuit, and thus endangering himself without being able, for all that, to do the enemy any harm. Upon hearing this, Xenophon replied that they were right in finding fault with him, and that the outcome bore witness of itself for their view. "But", he continued, "I was compelled to pursue **in view of the fact that I saw that by keeping our places we were suffering severely and were still unable to strike a blow ourselves. As for the pursuit itself**, you are quite right: we were no better able to inflict harm upon the enemy, and it was only with the utmost difficulty that we effected our own withdrawal…"

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do not consider the discussion on the, sometimes defended, 'concessive-adversative' value of ἐπεί to be relevant; see also Kraus, who states that also in those cases where scholars consider ἐπεί to indicate a concessive-adversative relation, we deal with "ein Illustrationsfaktum" (1970: 150), which is, in fact, very close to what I propose in this Chapter, *viz.*, that the ἐπεί-clause (and the like) presents a factual statement about the Real World which the reader/hearer needs for a successful comprehension of (some entity in) the text.

The reproach of Cheirisophus and the generals is twofold, as is articulated by the particles τε … καί in the ὅτι-clause: a) that he left the phalanx to undertake a pursuit, and b) that during this pursuit he endangered himself while unable to harm the enemy. In his reply Xenophon differentiates between the two parts of the reproach. Concerning part a) of the reproach, he claims—and this is reported in direct speech—: "I was compelled to pursue, inasmuch as I saw that by keeping our places we were suffering severely and were still unable to strike a blow ourselves". By using the semantically non-specific relator ἐπειδή at the onset of the postposed subclause, the speaker indicates a relation between the content of the two clauses of which the clause combination consists, *viz.*, his cognitive evaluation of the situation in which he found himself (ἠναγκάσθην διώκειν) and his perception of what happened at the time (ἑώρων…).

The order of the clauses first presents the reaction to the reproach. The fact that the reportee claims that he was compelled to pursue will raise a question on the part of his audience, since in the speech situation the reportee is criticized for having undertaken the pursuit in the first place. The claim ἠναγκάσθην διώκειν therefore calls for further substantiation. The use of a γάρ-clause for this purpose would have implied a high degree of common ground between the partners in conversation as regards the acceptability of the substantiation offered, which is inappropriate here as the substantiation still has to be accepted as valid by the reportee's audience.[24] Therefore, ἐπειδή is used as an indication that the Real World situation the reportee presents in the subclause is one which he at least considers a valid substantiation; his audience still has to accept it as valid in this controversial matter. In paraphrase: 'I was *compelled* to pursue, <and this is plain to see if you consider the fact that> I saw...'.

With the past tenses ἠναγκάσθην and ἑώρων, the speaker refers to a point in time anterior to the point at which the conversation takes place. In the next clause combination, the subclause ἐπειδὴ ἐδιώκομεν combines with ἀληθῆ … ὑμεῖς λέγετε within reported speech. With the past tense ἐδιώκομεν the speaker again refers to a point in time anterior to the speech situation, whereas with the verbal

[24] And then, there is always the clause introduced by the combination καὶ γάρ, which, it seems, is used to introduce a factual statement about the Real World offered as an unquestionnable substantiation, so that the speaker invites his audience to accept the preceding statement.

constituent of the matrix clause (ἀληθῆ ... ὑμεῖς λέγετε, a present indicative) he refers to the time of the speech situation itself. This is, again, an instance where the speaker does not want to indicate a relation between two states of affairs in the Real World, but indicates a relation between the content of two clauses that are of a different type.

With ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδιώκομεν, the speaker arrives at part b) of the reproach: now that the fact that they undertook a pursuit is dealt with, he continues with the criticism he encountered that during this pursuit he endangered himself while unable to harm the enemy. He has no defense here: they were quite right in criticizing him. As the content of the following γάρ-clause makes clear, he holds the same opinion as his critics.

As in [24], the Real World event presented in the ἐπεί-clause is related to the speaker's constitution of the text. Within the structure of the argument, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδιώκομεν introduces the theme upon which the speaker still has to comment (ἀληθῆ ... ὑμεῖς λέγετε). A paraphrase may run as follows: 'As for the pursuit itself, you are quite right'.

[26] *Anabasis* 1.6.10-11
*μετὰ ταῦτα, ἔφη,*[25] *κελεύοντος* Κύρου *ἔλαβον τῆς ζώνης τὸν Ὀρόνταν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἅπαντες ἀναστάντες καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς· εἶτα δ' ἐξῆγον αὐτὸν οἷς προσετάχθη. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον αὐτὸν οἵπερ πρόσθεν προσεκύνουν, καὶ τότε προσεκύνησαν, καίπερ εἰδότες ὅτι ἐπὶ θάνατον ἄγοιτο.* **ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀρταπάτου σκηνὴν εἰσήχθη**[26] (*sc.* Orontas), *τοῦ πιστοτάτου τῶν* Κύρου *σκηπτούχων, μετὰ ταῦτα οὔτε ζῶντα* Ὀρόνταν *οὔτε τεθνηκότα οὐδεὶς εἶδε πώποτε, οὐδὲ ὅπως ἀπέθανεν οὐδεὶς εἰδὼς ἔλεγεν· εἴκαζον δὲ ἄλλοι ἄλλως· τάφος δὲ οὐδεὶς πώποτε αὐτοῦ ἐφάνη.*

After this, he said, at the bidding of Cyrus, every man of them arose, even Orontas' kinsmen, and took him by the girdle, as a sign that he was condemned to death; and then those to whom the duty was assigned led him out. Then the men who in former days were wont to do him homage saw him, and made their obeisance even then, although they knew that he was being led forth to death. **Then he was conducted into the tent of Artapates**, the most faithful of Cyrus' chamberlains, and from that moment no man ever saw Orontas living or dead, nor could anyone say from actual knowledge how he was put

[25] μετὰ δὲ D ἔφη om. D cum det.
[26] εἰσηνέχθη X

> to death,— it was all conjectures, of one sort and another; and no grave of his was ever seen.

This example is taken from a passage where Clearchus is the reporter of how Orontas' trial was conducted (1.6.5). The narrative sequence of Orontas's report runs up to and including Orontas having been conducted into the tent of Artapates (*εἰς τὴν Ἀρταπάτου σκηνὴν εἰσήχθη*, expressed in the subclause). From *μετὰ ταῦτα* in the matrix clause onwards, a shift in the point of view from which the events are relayed is effected: it is the narrator Xenophon himself who is further responsible for the statement that 'from that moment no man ever saw Orontas living or dead, nor could anyone say from actual knowledge how he was put to death'; especially the addition: 'it was all conjectures, of one sort and another; no grave of his was ever seen' is certainly Xenophon's. An argument for this reading would be that Orontas, who is a topical discourse participant, performs the syntactical function of subject of the subordinated finite verb *εἰσήχθη* without reference, but then is referred to by his full name in the accusative (*Ὀρόνταν*) in the matrix clause.

The shift in point of view coincides with the point at which Clearchus's role as an eye-witness comes to an end. Xenophon himself takes over as soon as the events were taking place in the tent of Artapates, out of the reporter's sight, and presents the circumstances surrounding Orontas's death in a suggestive manner.[27] In a situation where the presentation of Real World events coincides with a change in point of view, the non-specific relator *ἐπεί* offers the narrator the possibility of smoothly relating a narrative statement ('he was conducted into the tent of Artapates') and a non-narrative statement over a change of point of view without indicating any semantic relations that are, in the context under consideration, inexpedient; for that matter, this is just another instance where the temporal organization is realized by means of the temporally specific adverbial *μετὰ ταῦτα* in the matrix clause, not by the choice of relator or tense stem.

> [27] *Anabasis* 1.6.5-7
> *Κλέαρχον δὲ καὶ εἴσω παρεκάλεσε σύμβουλον, ὅς γε καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐδόκει προτιμηθῆναι μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων. ἐπεὶ δ'*

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[27] Commentators, too, put out feelers about what happened to Orontas and suggest that he was buried alive.

ἐξῆλθεν, ἀπήγγειλε τοῖς φίλοις τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ Ὀρόντα ὡς ἐγένετο· οὐ γὰρ ἀπόρρητον ἦν. ἔφη δὲ Κῦρον ἄρχειν τοῦ λόγου ὧδε. Παρεκάλεσα ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὅπως σὺν ὑμῖν βουλευόμενος ὅ τι δίκαιόν ἐστι καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, τοῦτο πράξω περὶ Ὀρόντα τουτουί. τοῦτον γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ ἔδωκεν ὑπήκοον εἶναι ἐμοί· **ἐπεὶ δὲ ταχθείς, ὡς ἔφη αὐτός, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοῦ οὗτος ἐπολέμησεν ἐμοὶ ἔχων τὴν ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν προσπολεμῶν ἐποίησα ὥστε δόξαι τούτῳ τοῦ πρὸς ἐμὲ πολέμου παύσασθαι, καὶ δεξιὰν ἔλαβον καὶ ἔδωκα**, μετὰ ταῦτα, ἔφη, Ὀρόντα, ἔστιν ὅ τι σε ἠδίκησα; ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὔ.

Clearchus was also invited into the tent as a counsellor, for both Cyrus and the other Persians regarded him as the man who was honoured above the rest of the Greeks. Upon coming out, he reported to his friends how Orontas' trial was conducted—for it was no secret. He said that Cyrus began the conference in this way: "My friends, I have invited you here in order that I may consult with you and then take such action in the case of Orontas here as is right in the sight of gods and men. This man was given me at first by my father, to be my subject; **then, at the bidding, as he himself said, of my brother, this man levied war upon me, holding the citadel of Sardis, and I, by the war I waged against him, made him count it best to cease from warring upon me, and I received and gave the hand-clasp of friendship**. After that", he said, "Orontas, have I done you any wrong?" "No", Orontas answered.

This is the beginning of the report of Orontas' trial. The ἐπεί-clause under consideration, the information density of which is extremely high, combines with a question within reported direct speech. Again, the matrix clause opens with its own temporal indication: the temporally specific adverbial μετὰ ταῦτα.

This is an interesting example of reported speech, in that there are several speakers, each having their own addressee. Xenophon tells us about Clearchus who reports how Orontas's trial was conducted, quoting the words Cyrus spoke at the occasion. For clarity's sake, I give the following overview of the situation:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Narrator:* | Xenophon | *Addressee:* | Reader/Hearer |
| *Reporter:* | Clearchus | *Addressee:* | *Associates* of Clearchus (*τοῖς φίλοις*) |
| *Reportee:* | Cyrus | *Addressee:* | Associates of Cyrus (*ἄνδρες φίλοι*), then Orontas (*Ὀρόντα*) |

With three different 'speakers' around, there are as many points of view from which the events may be relayed. In the first part of the quotation (*Κλέαρχον ... ὧδε*), the events are relayed from the omniscient narrator's point of view (note the relative clause *ὅς γε* ...).[28] After *ὧδε* we have direct speech: in the passage from *παρεκάλεσα* onwards up to and including *ἠδίκησα*, events are relayed from the point of view of the reportee; note the vocatives (*ἄνδρες φίλοι*, *Ὀρόντα*) the first person singular (*παρεκάλεσα*, *πράξω*, *ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ*, *ἐμοί*, *τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοῦ*, *ἐμοί*, *ἐγώ ... ἐποίησα ... πρὸς ἐμέ ... ἔλαβον καὶ ἔδωκα*, *ἠδίκησα*) and second person references (*ὑμᾶς*, *σὺν ὑμῖν*, *σε*), as wel as the deictic form *τουτουί*. At the end of the passage, the point of view is again that of the narrator,[29] who legitimizes the reliability of his narrative through the introduction into the story of the eye-witness Clearchus as a reporter (cf. *ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὔ*).

At the same time, there is a shift of addressee within Cyrus's reported speech: Cyrus no longer addresses his associates, but turns directly to Orontas. In the subclause, Orontas was referred to with third person references (*ἔφη αὐτός*, *οὗτος ἐπολέμησεν*, *αὐτόν*, *τούτῳ*), but now he is personally addressed (*Ὀρόντα*, *σε*).

Be that as it may, the Real World situation referred to in Cyrus's speech is perfectly clear. Under the scope of *γάρ*, we have a situation A (*πρῶτον μέν*), which is followed by a situation B (*δέ*). Once situation B is presented, the point has been reached at which Orontas might be

[28] Though from *ἀπήγγειλε* onwards, the reporter Clearchus might be considered to be the focalizer.

[29] Cf. the insertion of *ἔφη*. The temporal adverbial *μετὰ ταῦτα* is ambiguous as far as point of view is concerned, for although it is likely that Cyrus actually said *μετὰ ταῦτα*, we should reckon with the possibility that any *μίμησις* of direct speech need not be free from manipulation on the part of the narrator; see Sternberg (1982: 68): "From the premise that direct speech (unlike indirect and other kinds of quotation, let alone the narrative of events) *can* reproduce the original speaker's words, it neither follows that it must perforce do so nor that it ought to do so nor, of course, that it actually does so".

questioned about a situation C, which follows on B (*μετὰ ταῦτα*). Beyond the shift of addressee and point of view, the non-specific relator *ἐπεί* indicates a relation between the content of two clauses of a different type, a declarative clause and an interrogative clause, respectively:[30] the subclause presents factual information about a Real World situation, in the light of which the question is asked, and this produces an unexpected, rhetorical effect (cf. [24] above).

[28] *Agesilaus* 2.13-14
*ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ μὲν νίκη σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ ἐγένετο, τετρωμένος δ' αὐτὸς προσηνέχθη πρὸς τὴν φάλαγγα, προσελάσαντές τινες τῶν ἱππέων λέγουσιν αὐτῷ ὅτι τῶν πολεμίων ὀγδοήκοντα σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὑπὸ τῷ ναῷ εἰσι, καὶ ἠρώτων τί χρὴ ποιεῖν. ὁ δὲ καίπερ πολλὰ τραύματα ἔχων πάντοσε καὶ παντοίοις ὅπλοις ὅμως οὐκ ἐπελάθετο τοῦ θείου, ἀλλ' ἐᾶν τε ἀπιέναι ὅποι βούλοιντο ἐκέλευε καὶ ἀδικεῖν οὐκ εἴα, καὶ προπέμψαι ἐπέταξε τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἱππεῖς ἔστε ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἐγένοντο.*
***ἐπεί γε μὴν ἔληξεν ἡ μάχη**, παρῆν δὴ θεάσασθαι ἔνθα συνέπεσον ἀλλήλοις τὴν μὲν γῆν αἵματι πεφυρμένην, νεκροὺς δὲ κειμένους φιλίους καὶ πολεμίους μετ' ἀλλήλων, ἀσπίδας δὲ διατεθρυμμένας, δόρατα συντεθραυσμένα, ἐγχειρίδια γυμνὰ κολεῶν, τὰ μὲν χαμαί, τὰ δ' ἐν σώματι, τὰ δ' ἔτι μετὰ χεῖρας.*

The victory lay with Agesilaus; but he himself was carried wounded to his battle-line; then some horsemen rode up, and told him that eighty of the enemy retaining their arms had taken cover in the temple, and they asked what they should do. Though wounded in every part of his body with every sort of weapon, he did not forget his duty towards the gods, but gave orders that these men should be let go whithersoever they wished, and would not suffer them to be harmed, and charged his escort of cavalry to conduct them to a place of safety.
**Now that the fighting was at an end**, an odd spectacle met the eye, as one surveyed the scene of the conflict—the earth stained with blood, friend and foe lying dead side by side, shields smashed to pieces, spears snapped in two, daggers bared of their sheaths, some on the ground, some embedded in the bodies, some yet gripped by the hand.

The subclause *ἐπεί γε μὴν ἔληξεν ἡ μάχη* contains a narrative statement about a Real World situation. The matrix clause with which it combines does not contain a narrative statement, but

[30] For a characterization of sentence types, see Risselada (1993: 71-2), who proposes "to characterize declarative sentences as 'presenting a proposition', interrogative sentences as 'presenting a proposition as (partially) open', and imperative sentences as 'presenting the content of a proposition for realization'".

presents us with a description of what was to be seen (***παρῆν δὴ θεάσασθαι***) on the battle-field. Up to and including ***ἔληξεν ἡ μάχη***, events are relayed from the point of view of the omniscient narrator. As the matrix clause starts, the point of view is that of an imaginary spectator *in situ*.

The contextual environment of *Agesilaus* 2.14 is closely paralleled in the *Hellenica* (*Agesilaus* 2.9-13 ≈ *Hellenica* 4.3.16-20; *Agesilaus* 2.15-16 ≈ *Hellenica* 4.3.20-21; see Buijs, unpublished); 2.14, however, is apparently inserted in the *Agesilaus*. That the battle had ended is properly speaking 'given' information; see ***ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ μὲν νίκη σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ ἐγένετο*** in 2.13. The information is restated to provide the reader/hearer with the factual information he needs in order to understand the sequel easily (note ***δή*** in the matrix clause). Only a semantically non-specific relator such as ***ἐπεί*** is suitable when a change of point of view is involved in the clause combination; the choice of a semantically specific (temporal) relator is excluded here, as the indication of a specific moment in time in the narrative reconstruction of reality would be inexpedient when the narrator wants to indicate a relation between the content of a subclause containing a narrative statement and the content of a matrix clause containing a description.

[29] *Hellenica* 7.2.12-13
*καὶ τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον τῆς ἡμέρας ἐνταῦθα ἀκροβολιζόμενοι διῆγον, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Εὔφρονα ἐπιδιώκοντες μέχρι τοῦ ἱππασίμου, οἱ δὲ ἔνδοθεν μέχρι τοῦ Ἡραίου.* ***ἐπεὶ δὲ καιρὸς ἐδόκει εἶναι***, *ἀπῇσαν οἱ πολέμιοι κύκλῳ τοῦ Τρικαράνου·*

And they spent most of the day there in fighting at long range, the troops of Euphron pursuing up to the point where the country was suited for cavalry, and the men from the city as far as the Heraeum. **When it seemed to be the proper time**, the enemy retired by a circuitous route over Tricaranum.

[30] *Hellenica* 5.4.53-54
*οἱ δὲ Σκιρῖται ἰδόντες αὐτοὺς θᾶττον ἢ βάδην ἀπῆλθον. καὶ ἀπέθανε μὲν οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν· ὅμως δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι τροπαῖόν [τε] ἐστήσαντο, ὅτι ἀπεχώρησαν οἱ ἀναβάντες. ὁ μέντοι Ἀγησίλαος,* ***ἐπεὶ ὥρα ἦν***, *ἀπελθὼν ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἔνθαπερ τοὺς πολεμίους εἶδε παρατεταγμένους· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπήγαγε τὴν ἐπὶ Θεσπιάς.*

> The Sciritans saw them and fell back at a faster pace than a walk. And not one of them was killed; nevertheless, the Thebans set up a trophy, because the Sciritans who had climbed the hill had retired. As for Agesilaus, **when it was time** <for him to do so>, he withdrew and encamped at the very spot where he had seen the enemy drawn up; then on the following day he led his army away by the road to Thespiae.

These subclauses have the narratological effect of indicating that a participant's view on a Real World situation is presented. The word καιρός in [29] is an evaluative NP: one has to judge whether it is καιρός or not; the same goes for ὥρα in [30]. In either case, there are two possible candidates for the attribution of the evaluation: the narrator or a participant. Expressions like καιρὸς ἐδόκει εἶναι and ὥρα ἦν call for a dative phrase indicating to whom or for whom this Real World situation obtains—cf. Ehrlich (1990: 18); this dative phrase is not expressed.[31] In general, the dative phrase is deleted easier if the situation is presented from the point of view of a participant than if the situation is presented from the point of view of the narrator.[32]

In [29], with the οἱ μέν ... οἱ δέ-sequence preceding the ἐπεί-clause, the narrator simply could not have used a dative phrase like αὐτοῖς in the subclause, as the reference as to which party he meant would have been unclear. By means of ἐπεί, the content of the subclause is related to the content of its matrix clause whose subject is οἱ πολέμιοι, so that, in the linear perception of the text, only after reading/hearing the clause combination as a whole does it become

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[31] Cf. also *Anabasis* 2.3.9: ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπε· (...) **ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκει καιρὸς εἶναι**, ἀπήγγελλεν ὅτι σπένδοιτο, καὶ εὐθὺς ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευε πρὸς τἀπιτήδεια ('Clearchus said: (...). **When it seemed that the proper time had come**, he reported that he accepted the truce, and directed them to lead the way immediately to the provisions'). The relevance of the presence or absence of αὐτῷ for the attribution of point of view may be gathered from *Anabasis* 1.2.1, where the dative phrase to ἐδόκει is expressed, in a situation where the sentence as a whole is relayed from the narrator's point of view, as appears from τήν ... πρόφασιν ἐποιεῖτο in the matrix clause: **ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδόκει ἤδη πορεύεσθαι αὐτῷ ἄνω**, τὴν μὲν πρόφασιν ἐποιεῖτο ὡς Πισίδας βουλόμενος ἐκβαλεῖν παντάπασιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας (πορεύεσθαι αὐτῶ ἄνω ἤδη D: αὐτῷ ἤδη πορεύεσθαι ἄνω det.; '**when he thought the time had come to begin his upward march**, the pretext he offered was that he wished to drive the Pisidians out of his land entirely').

[32] Just as a dative phrase may be deleted under certain conditions in ordinary conversation, one of which exists when the dative NP is coreferential with the speaker or addressee of the speech event (Ehrlich, 1990a: 18).

clear that it seemed to be the proper time *to the enemy*. Therefore, it is the narrator from whose point of view the thoughts of the enemy are relayed here.[33]

On the other hand, in the case of ἐπεὶ ὥρα ἦν in [30], it was time *for Agesilaus* to undertake action—the dative phrase indicating for whom the Real World situation obtains (αὐτῷ) has been left unexpressed. Here, the evaluation is most reasonably attributed to the participant; the interpretation of the subclause as a clause presenting a Real World situation as relayed from a participant's point of view is facilitated by the fact that the subject of the following matrix clause is (re-)introduced as a topic by a full NP in sentence-initial position (ὁ … Ἀγησίλαος).

Although the ἐπεί-clauses provide information about the notion of 'time' (ὥρα, καιρός) they do not serve as a time anchor in the organization of the narrative sequence, as was shown for δείλη occurring in ἡνίκα-clauses (Section 1.2). However, the ἐπεί-clauses still propel *narrative* time forward. They present a participant's perception of reality, be it from the point of view of the narrator or from that of the participant under consideration, which triggers the subsequent relocation (ἀπῇσαν, ἀπελθών) performed by that participant.

[31] *Hellenica* 3.5.21-23
*ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἠθύμουν, νομίζοντες οὐκ ἐλάττω κακὰ πεπονθέναι ἢ πεποιηκέναι· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ* ***ἐπεὶ ᾔσθοντο ἀπεληλυθότας ἐν νυκτὶ τούς τε Φωκέας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας οἴκαδε ἑκάστους****, ἐκ τούτου μεῖζον δὴ ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ γεγενημένῳ.* ***ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ ὁ Παυσανίας ἀνεφαίνετο ἔχων τὸ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος στράτευμα****, πάλιν αὖ ἐν μεγάλῳ κινδύνῳ ἡγοῦντο εἶναι, καὶ πολλὴν ἔφασαν σιωπήν τε καὶ ταπεινότητα ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι εἶναι αὐτῶν.* ***ὡς δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οἵ τε Ἀθηναῖοι ἐλθόντες συμπαρετάξαντο ὅ τε Παυσανίας οὐ προσῆγεν οὐδὲ ἐμάχετο****, ἐκ τούτου τὸ μὲν Θηβαίων πολὺ μεῖζον φρόνημα ἐγίγνετο·*
*ὁ δὲ Παυσανίας συγκαλέσας πολεμάρχους καὶ πεντηκοντῆρας ἐβουλεύετο πότερον μάχην συνάπτοι ἢ ὑπόσπονδον τόν τε Λύσανδρον ἀναιροῖτο καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ πεσόντας. λογιζόμενος δ' ὁ Παυσανίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ⟨οἱ⟩ ἐν τέλει Λακεδαιμονίων…*

[33] Cf. also the μέν-member that contains the mass scene *ἀκροβολιζόμενοι διῆγον, οἱ μέν … οἱ δέ.*

> On this day, therefore, the Thebans were despondent, thinking that they had suffered losses no less severe than those they had inflicted; on the following day, **when they learned that the Phocians and the rest had all gone away in the night to their several homes**, then they began to be more elated over their exploit. **When, however, Pausanias appeared with the army from Lacedaemon**, they again thought that they were in great danger, and, by all accounts, there was deep silence and despondency in their army. **When on the next day the Athenians arrived and fought along with them, and Pausanias did not advance against them nor offer battle**, then the elation of the Thebans increased greatly.
>
> As for Pausanias, he called together the commanders of regiments and of fifties, and took counsel with them as to whether he should join battle or recover by means of a truce the bodies of Lysander and those who fell with him. Accordingly Pausanias and the other Lacedaemonians who were in authority, considering that …

In the discourse preceding this quotation, we have been told that the Thebans were driven away from a hill, and more than two hundred of them were killed. At this point, Xenophon is going to evaluate the effect of these happenings on the spirit of the Thebans. Μὲν οὖν signals that the preceding episode is now closed off in a comprehensible way: the disposition of the Thebans is made the new discourse topic, and the first sentence becomes the start of a sequence that is temporally organized: the opening of the first sentence (ταύτῃ μέν … τῇ ἡμέρᾳ) creates the expectation that the δέ-member will have another temporal setting, an expectation met by τῇ δ᾽ ὑστεραίᾳ. On this day, they learned that the Phocians and the rest had all gone away in the night to their several homes, and they were more elated over their exploit (μεῖζον δὴ ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ γεγενημένῳ). The temporal situation of the adjacent sentences already established by the temporal adverbials ταύτῃ … τῇ ἡμέρᾳ (…) τῇ … ὑστεραίᾳ, the narrator relates the one Real World situation (the perception of the Thebans) to the other (their change of mood), and indicates, by using δή, that the reader/hearer is provided with the amount of information that is sufficient to understand this change; the imperfect ἐφρόνουν suggests that this is not the end of the story, and with ἐκ τούτου, he marks the onset of another series of changes of mood yet to begin.

Pausanias appears on the stage in the second subclause of this passage; this Real World situation is presented in connection with (the imperfect ἀνεφαίνετο) and in relation to (ἐπεί) a cognitive evaluation on the part of the Thebans. Since it is not the case that Pausanias re-

appeared, the *αὖ* in *ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ* seems to suggest beforehand that the event to be mentioned in the subclause will effect a change in the mental disposition of the Thebans; *πάλιν αὖ*, then, marks that the Thebans after having first bad and then good feelings about what had happened (*ἐπὶ τῷ γεγενημένῳ*), now felt they were in another, different unfortunate situation.

Then the final change of mood is expressed. The occasion, consisting of the fact that the Athenians arrived and fought along with them, and the connected[34] circumstance that Pausanias did not advance against them nor offer battle, is presented as related to the statement that the elation of the Thebans increased greatly. This time, the semantically non-specific relator is *ὡς*;[35] the temporal perspective is preserved by *τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ*, which is located inside the subclause, now that the discourse is no longer organized by the events of subsequent days, but by the changing moods of the Thebans. With *ἐκ τούτου τὸ μὲν Θηβαίων πολὺ μεῖζον φρόνημα ἐγίγνετο* the episode is rounded off. The Thebans are abandoned as a topic (*μέν*), and the story is continued with Pausanias as the new topic (*δέ*), to be extended to the main board of Spartan leaders by the clause *λογιζόμενος δ' ὁ Παυσανίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ⟨οἱ⟩ ἐν τέλει Λακεδαιμονίων* in § 23.

Regarding the expression of Real World relations in this passage, the subclauses are all headed by a semantically non-specific relator and present Real World situations that are related to the content of their matrix clauses insofar as they effect a change in the mental disposition of the Thebans which is the underlying discourse topic: the changes in the state of mind of the Thebans, when expressed in the independent clauses of this passage, form the narrative backbone of this text part. Without exception, the historical events that cause a change in the current Real World situation are presented by means of

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[34] Note the imperfects *οὐ προσῆγεν οὐδὲ ἐμάχετο* and the close connection by means of *τε ... τε*.

[35] Although I have no explanation to offer for the distribution of *ὡς* and *ἐπεί* (and, for that matter, *ἐπειδή*), it is tempting to hypothesize that with two instances of *ἐπεί* preceding, the choice of *ὡς* may be accounted for by the fact that the subclause as a whole does serve as a frame of reference for the following matrix clause, but that within the subclause the second clause of the clauses coordinated by *τε ... τε*, which describes a nonsequential event (*οὐ προσῆγεν οὐδὲ ἐμάχετο*), presents the next phase in a situation that was already described (→ *ὁ Παυσανίας ἀνεφαίνετο ἔχων τὸ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος στράτευμα*; cf. ex. [32] below).

subclauses,[36] while their effect on the Thebans is presented in the main clauses, yet the presence of the narrator is felt throughout—note the temporal perspective maintained through the temporal adverbials *ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ* and *τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ* (twice), the aorist indicative used for the cognitive verb *ᾔσθοντο*, the marked way of articulating yet another change by means of *αὖ ... πάλιν αὖ*, the indication of a report by means of *ἔφασαν*, the interactive particle *δή*, and the well-planned sequence *ἐκ τούτου μεῖζον δὴ ἐφρόνουν ... ἐκ τούτου τὸ μὲν Θηβαίων πολὺ μεῖζον φρόνημα ἐγίγνετο*. Here, the narrator has found a mode of presentation that enables him both to record historical events and bring his narrative to life by focussing on how these historical events are perceived by a cast of participants.

[32] *Hellenica* 7.1.18
*οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἀσφαλῶς καταβάντες καὶ συμμείξαντες τοῖς ἑαυτῶν συμμάχοις, Ἀρκάσι τε καὶ Ἀργείοις καὶ Ἠλείοις, εὐθὺς μὲν προσέβαλον πρὸς Σικυῶνα καὶ Πελλήνην· στρατευσάμενοι δὲ εἰς Ἐπίδαυρον ἐδῄωσαν αὐτῶν πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν. ἀναχωροῦντες δὲ ἐκεῖθεν μάλα πάντων ὑπεροπτικῶς τῶν ἐναντίων,* ***ὡς ἐγένοντο ἐγγὺς τοῦ Κορινθίων ἄστεως****, δρόμῳ ἐφέροντο πρὸς τὰς πύλας τὰς ἐπὶ Φλειοῦντα ἰόντι, ὡς εἰ ἀνεῳγμέναι τύχοιεν, εἰσπεσούμενοι.*

The Thebans descended in safety and effected a junction with their allies, the Arcadians, Argives, and Eleans, and immediately attacked Sicyon and Pellene; they also made an expedition to Epidaurus, and laid waste the whole territory of the Epidaurians. Returning from there in a manner which showed great disdain for all their adversaries, **when they came near the city of the Corinthians**, they rushed at the double toward the gates through which one passes in going to Phlius, with the intention of bursting in if they chanced to be open.

The passage starts with a high-paced enumeration of narrative statements; the first five verbal constituents are aorist forms; the narrator only differentiates between events of relatively higher and lower hierarchical status by his use of participles and main finite verbs: 'the Thebans (*δέ*) descended (*καταβάντες*) safely and (*καί*) effected a junction (*συμμείξαντες*) with their allies, the Arcadians, Argives, and Eleans, and (*μέν*) immediately attacked (*προσέβαλον*) Sicyon and Pellene; they (*δέ*) made an expedition (*στρατευσάμενοι*) to

[36] In the first subclause, *ἐπεὶ ᾔσθοντο ἀπεληλυθότας ἐν νυκτὶ τούς τε Φωκέας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας οἴκαδε ἑκάστους*, the historical data are packed in the object clause to *ᾔσθοντο*.

Epidaurus, and laid waste (ἐδῄωσαν) the whole territory of the Epidaurians'. Then, he reduces the pace of the narrative by expressing a spatial movement away from the location last mentioned by means of a participial clause with a present stem verbal constituent: 'on their returning (ἀναχωροῦντες δέ) from there in a manner which showed great disdain for their adversaries'. This piece of information, in itself, does not raise specific expectations. What does happen is that, due to the insertion of ἀναχωροῦντες … ἐκεῖθεν, the precise spatial setting goes astray. This is come up to by the information contained in the subclause ὡς ἐγένοντο ἐγγὺς τοῦ Κορινθίων ἄστεως: within the framework opened by ἀναχωροῦντες … ἐκεῖθεν, the spatial setting is redefined: they came near the city of the Corinthians. The preposed subclause, describing a sequential event, presents a new phase in a situation that was already described. At this point, the reader/hearer is prepared well enough to receive and understand the main information: 'they rushed at the double toward the gates (through which one passes in going to Phlius), with the intention of bursting in (if they chanced to be open)'.

Here, the speaker uses a semantically non-specific relator in order to prevent any, in this context, unnecessary and/or undesired semantically specific relation from being expressed; his main objective in using the subclause is redefining the spatial setting within a current situation—which, one will observe, is necessary for the content of the following matrix clause δρόμῳ ἐφέροντο πρὸς τὰς πύλας τὰς ἐπὶ Φλειοῦντα ἰόντι to be comprehensible.

## 3 *Participial Clauses Headed by a Relator*

The great majority of participial clauses are not headed by a relator. By using a participial clause without a relator, the speaker does not indicate a Real World relation between the content of the participial clause and the matrix clause, although often such a relation is conceivable. In the relatively small number of instances where participial clauses are headed by semantically specific relators like καίπερ, ἅτε, or ὡς (see Chapter 1, Section 2.2.1), the Real World relation is specified in order that the communication between the speaker and his audience be successful. The following instances will provide examples of this.

[33] *Hellenica* 4.5.3
*τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἦγε πρὸς τὸ Πείραιον τὸ στράτευμα. ἰδὼν δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν φυλαττόμενον, ἀπεχώρησε μετ' ἄριστον πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ,* **ὡς προδιδομένης τῆς πόλεως·** *ὥστε οἱ Κορίνθιοι δείσαντες μὴ προδιδοῖτο ὑπό τινων ἡ πόλις, μετεπέμψαντο τὸν Ἰφικράτην σὺν τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν πελταστῶν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τῆς νυκτὸς παρεληλυθότας αὐτούς, ὑποστρέψας ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰς τὸ Πείραιον ἦγε.*

On the fourth day Agesilaus led his army against Piraeum. Seeing that it was guarded by many, he withdrew after breakfast in the direction of the capital, **as though the city were going to be betrayed to him**; so that the Corinthians, in fear that the city was to be betrayed by some one, summoned Iphicrates with the greater part of his peltasts. Agesilaus, however, upon perceiving that they had passed by during the night, turned about, and at daybreak led his army to Piraeum.

Agesilaus led his army against Piraeum.[37] He saw that it was guarded by many, and withdrew after breakfast in the direction of the capital, *ὡς προδιδομένης τῆς πόλεως*.

Here, we have a clause combination consisting of a Real World event (*ἀπεχώρησε*), and an event that did not and would not occur (*προδιδομένης τῆς πόλεως*; note the present participle). The combination of the two clauses presents a comparative situation, describing Agesilaus's strategy: he withdrew in the direction of the capital, in a way that suggests the city was going to be betrayed to him.

When headed by, e.g., *ὡς*, subclauses can be used in similes and comparisons, or as comparative clauses, too: when used as comparative clauses with the indicative, however, they are used in assertions and statements of fact (Smyth, 1956: 557). Since we are dealing with neither a comparison nor with an assertion, the participial clause cannot be replaced with a subclause.

The relator *ὡς* is indispensable to the participle, since without *ὡς*, the reader would have the impression of being presented with the assertion that the city was being betrayed. Here, the use of *ὡς* prevents the reader/hearer from interpreting the content of the participial clause as a narrative statement of fact.

[37] Piraeum is the peninsula on the north-western side of the isthmus of Corinth; in 4.5.1-3, *τὸ ἄστυ* refers to the material city of Corinth, while its civic body is referred to by *ἡ πόλις*.

[34] *Hellenica* 4.7.7
*ἐκ δὲ τούτου βουλόμενος τειχίσαι φρούριόν τι ἐπὶ ταῖς παρὰ Κηλοῦσαν ἐμβολαῖς, ἐθύετο· καὶ ἐφάνη αὐτῷ τὰ ἱερὰ ἄλοβα. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, ἀπήγαγε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ διέλυσε, μάλα πολλὰ βλάψας τοὺς Ἀργείους,* ***ἅτε ἀπροσδοκήτως αὐτοῖς ἐμβαλών.***

After this, desiring to fortify a garrison post at the entrance to the Argive country which leads past Mount Celusa, he offered sacrifice; and the livers of the victims were found to be lacking a lobe. In view of this event, he led his army away and disbanded it—he had inflicted very great harm upon the Argives **inasmuch as he had invaded their land unexpectedly**.

With the aorist finite verbs *ἀπήγαγε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ διέλυσε*, the narrator rounds off his account of Agesipolis's invasion of Argos. By way of afterthought, he adds that Agesipolis had inflicted very great harm upon the Argives, using a postposed participial clause (*μάλα πολλὰ βλάψας τοὺς Ἀργείους*). This participial clause, in its turn, is followed by another participial clause, headed by *ἅτε*; *ἅτε* signals that the content of the clause to follow is to be viewed as an explanation for the content of the preceding clause.

If we consider the other option the speaker has at his disposal—the use of a subclause: **ἐπεί &c./ὅτι ἀπροσδοκήτως αὐτοῖς ἐνέβαλεν*—, we must conclude that this would have been an option,[38] had the narrator wanted to present the act of invading as an explanation: 'he inflicted very great harm upon the Argives inasmuch as/because he had invaded their land unexpectedly'. However, by using a participial clause instead of a subclause, the speaker achieves that the postposed narrative statement is interpreted as 'he inflicted very great harm upon the Argives inasmuch as his invasion was *unexpected*': using the non-finite participle, the speaker focusses on the adverb *ἀπροσδοκήτως*, which is appropriate since it is precisely its unexpectedness that made Agesipolis's invasion successful. The choice of clause type is therefore pragmatically motivated.

The question remains why *ἅτε* is added to the participle here.[39] Usually, a postposed (aorist) participle either expresses how the main

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[38] In that case, the subclause would have a participial clause (*μάλα πολλὰ βλάψας τοὺς Ἀργείους*) as its matrix clause, a clause combination that is preferably avoided.

[39] In the *Hellenica* and *Anabasis*, *ἅτε* occurs 31 times (*Anabasis* 4.5.18 is disputed and therefore not included) at the head of a participial clause (with present stem: 19x;

event came about (so-called 'coincidental' usage) or presents a further explanation why a participant acts like he does (type: ...[FINITE VERB], *νομίσας* ...) or presents an independently informative piece of information that for varying reasons is placed after the main verb. Here, *ἅτε* seems to be added because the participial clause under consideration does not fit one of these categories. Without *ἅτε*, the final participial clause would still be interpreted by the reader/hearer as expressing an explanation of the content of the preceding participial clause, which is in fact the only conceivable relation between the content of the two clauses. However, especially since the relation between the content of the two clauses resides primarily in the fact that by invading *ἀπροσδοκήτως* Agesipolis inflicted very great (*μάλα πολλά*) harm upon the Argives, the reader/hearer is spared the cognitive effort of interpreting this message by the addition of *ἅτε*. In order to establish a successful comprehension of what he wants to say on the part of his audience, the speaker specifies the Real World relation between the content of the two participial clauses involved.

[35] *Hellenica* 7.4.39
*ἀκούων οὖν ὁ Θηβαῖος ἠπόρει τε ὅ τι χρήσαιτο τῷ πράγματι καὶ ἀφίησι πάντας τοὺς ἄνδρας. καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ συγκαλέσας τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὁπόσοι γε δὴ συνελθεῖν ἠθέλησαν, ἀπελογεῖτο ὡς ἐξαπατηθείη. ἀκοῦσαι γὰρ ἔφη ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε εἶεν σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις προδιδόναι τε μέλλοιεν αὐτοῖς τὴν Τεγέαν τῶν Ἀρκάδων τινές. οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἐκεῖνον μέν,* ***καίπερ γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι ἐψεύδετο περὶ σφῶν****, ἀφίεσαν· πέμψαντες δ' εἰς Θήβας πρέσβεις κατηγόρουν αὐτοῦ ὡς δεῖν ἀποθανεῖν.*

The Theban accordingly, on hearing this, was at a loss to know how he should deal with the matter, and released all the men. Then on the following day he called together as many of the Arcadians as chose to gather and said in his defence that he had been deceived. For he had heard, he said, that the Lacedaemonians were on the borders under arms and that some of the Arcadians were going to betray Tegea to them. Upon hearing this they let him go, **although they knew that he was speaking falsely about them**, but they sent ambassadors to Thebes and brought charges against him, saying that he ought to be put to death.

with aorist stem: 6x; with perfect stem: 6x): 19x heading a conjunct participle (nom. case: 18x; acc. case: 1x), 12x heading a genitive absolute; preposed: 19x (5 times of which at the sentence-initial position), postposed 12x; it is not used in reported speech. In the *Agesilaus* it is not used at all.

From ἀκούων οὖν onwards, the Theban is the continuous topic for several subsequent clauses. Then a topic-switch is articulated (οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες) and those of the Arcadians who were present become the new topic. They acquitted him (ἐκεῖνον μέν),[40] and (δέ) sent ambassadors to Thebes and brought charges against him, saying that he ought to be put to death. From the participial clause καίπερ γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι ἐψεύδετο περὶ σφῶν, we learn that they were actually well aware that the Theban spoke falsely about them: we are presented with the view on reality the listeners had themselves. The main action (ἐκεῖνον μέν ... ἀφίεσαν), however, is not what one would expect from people who know someone is speaking falsely about them.

This presupposed counter-expectancy—the fact that in the world as the reader/hearer might be expected to know it, the action performed by a group of participants is not in line with their perception of the situation—warrants the use of the semantically specific (adversative) relator καίπερ at the beginning of the participial clause. An ἐπεί-/ἐπειδή-/ὡς-clause is not possible in this case.[41] Without καίπερ, the Real World relation between the content of the two clauses would not just have been unexpressed: there would have been a certain tension between the content of the two clauses involved in the clause combination, resulting in questions on the part of the reader/hearer regarding the Real World situation that is presented in the text. From the content of the sequel, it will none the less become clear that the Arcadians knew the truth of the matter, and the reader/hearer will—in retrospect and rather late—interpret γιγνώσκοντες as adversative. Yet only if the content of two clauses of which the clause combination consists is unequivocally incompatible, can the adversative relator be left out. Here, with the present

[40] Participant tracking is facilitated here by the use of ἐκεῖνον (instead of αὐτόν): when referred to by ἐκεῖνον, the Theban is brought off the stage, in order that the path is paved for a shift to the dealings of the Arcadians with the other Thebans.

[41] Cf. n. 23 above on alleged 'concessive-adversative ἐπεί'. An εἰ καί-/καὶ εἰ-clause is out of place in this past context, such a clause being concessive, rather than adversative. In order to indicate adversative relations between the content of clauses, the Ancient Greek speaker uses a participial clause + καίπερ, καί, πέρ, καὶ ταῦτα, (possibly) καίτοι, or, at the beginning of the matrix clause, ὅμως, εἶτα, or ἔπειτα, or both, e.g., *Hellenica* 3.4.6: Ἀγησίλαος δέ, **καίπερ** αἰσθανόμενος ταῦτα, **ὅμως** ἐπέμενε ταῖς σπονδαῖς ('Agesilaus, **though** he was aware of this, **nevertheless** continued to abide by the truce').

participle of a cognitive verb *γιγνώσκοντες*, this is not the case, and *καίπερ* is added in order that the speaker's message is successfully transmitted.

## 4 *Conclusion*

On the basis of the material discussed in the Introduction (Chapter 1) and the findings of Section 2, I suggest that Ancient Greek possesses, in addition to the type of semantically specific relators that is found generally in languages of the world, a language-specific type of relator: the semantically non-specific relator (ἐπεί, ἐπειδή, and ὡς). The description of the Greek language has suffered considerably from the fact that Greek texts have been *translated*, rather than *read* with usage of language-specific signals, so that our view of certain phenomena that are typical of the Greek, but unfamiliar to modern western languages, has become blurred. We may expect our understanding of the usage of Ancient Greek subclauses to increase if these clauses are re-examined in their *context*, which implies taking into account longer stretches of discourse than is often done, and keeping an open mind in doing so.

Speakers use subclauses headed by the semantically specific relator διότι or ὅτι in order indicate to their audience that they have a specific aim in expressing the information contained in the subclause: the subclause contains a Real World situation that is perceived by the speaker as illuminating the *informational content* of another clause—either describing how the Real World situation described in the matrix clause came about (see [1]), or giving the reason for a discourse participant's behavior (see [2] - [3]).

Semantically specific relators such as ἡνίκα, ὅτε, and ἐν ᾧ are used to provide the reader/hearer with a time anchor for the Real World situation described in the matrix clause ([4] - [22a]); a special case is provided by postposed subclauses headed by specifically temporal relators that contain the main action of the sentence ([19] - [20]). The relators ἡνίκα, ὅτε, and ἐν ᾧ seem mutually exchangeable to a high degree (see [21]), although some regularities seem to emerge: we may think here of the use of ὅτε in postposed subclauses providing the situation described in the matrix clause with a location in real time, Xenophon's preference for ὅτε in constructions of the type ὅτε ταῦτα

ἦν (but contrast ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἦν in [18]), and for ἡνίκα in the type illustrated in [19] - [20].

On the other hand, regarding the usage of semantically *non-specific* relators in discourse, I contend that these give the speaker the opportunity of presenting a factual statement about the Real World the reader/hearer needs for a successful comprehension of the text. The content of the subclause may be needed to understand the use of a single word (as with τότε in [22b]), or the content of the matrix clause as a whole ([23]). A semantically non-specific relator will be used when a Real World situation has to be related to the speaker's constitution of the text ([24] - [25]), or when the point of view from which the events are relayed is involved ([26] - [30]). Finally, subclauses headed by a semantically non-specific relator are used especially to introduce a new phase in an on-going description of the Real World ([23]; [31] - [32]).

The relators ἐπεί, ἐπειδή, and ὡς are often used in contexts where specificity about a certain semantic relation is inexpedient, or simply impossible. As opposed to subclauses headed by semantically specific relators, the class of subclauses headed by semantically non-specific relators in Ancient Greek is often considered problematic in that their relation to their matrix clauses has to be somehow 'detected'; however, the reverse of what is often thought appears to be the case. We need not worry as to whether a subclause headed by a semantically non-specific relator is to be related temporally or 'causally' to its matrix clause: this is simply not expressed. Rather, since ἐπεί, ἐπειδή, and ὡς do not indicate a specific semantic relation between the content of clauses, ἐπεί-, ἐπειδή-, and ὡς-clauses may be used to relate to any part of the text a Real World situation that adds to text comprehension. When preposed, these subclauses present a Real World situation the reader/hearer needs to be informed about in order to be able to comprehend the sequel, often presenting a frame of reference for not only the upcoming matrix clause, but also the upcoming text part. When postposed, they add a Real World situation that the reader/hearer needs to be informed about in order to be able to comprehend what precedes.

Preposed, especially sentence-initially placed, subclauses often indicate the onset of a new phase in the development of the discourse. In the case of subclauses headed by semantically specific relators, the relevance of the content of the subclause is of local nature; they

provide a temporal reference or express a 'cause'/reason related to content of the matrix clause only. In the case of subclauses headed by semantically non-specific relators, the content of the subclause has a more global perspective: the reader/hearer needs to be informed about the Real World situation presented in the subclause in order to be able to understand how the upcoming discourse continues with respect to what precedes. When the subclause contains a present stem verbal constituent, the reader/hearer will have to understand the sequel in view of the Real World situation presented in the subclause; when the subclause contains an aorist verbal constituent, will have to be interpreted as following on the occurrence of this Real World situation (see Chapter 4).

Finally, participial clauses are generally not headed by any relator, so that in the case of a participial clause the Real World relation between the content of the clauses of which the clause combination consists is not indicated, although often one can conceive of such a relation. In those cases where a relator does specify the relation between the content of the participial clause and the matrix clause, this is pragmatically motivated in that without the relator, the speaker's audience might be misguided in the interpretation of the Real World relation at issue: without the relator, the reader/hearer might have a false view on the Real World situation expressed.

CHAPTER FOUR

# REAL WORLD CONSTRUCTION AND TEXT ARTICULATION: PREPOSED SUBORDINATE CLAUSES AND DISCOURSE SEGMENTATION

## *Introduction*

The present Chapter attempts to analyze the interplay between the difference in *form* and the difference in *function* of ἐπεί-, ἐπειδή-, and ὡς-clauses on the one hand, and conjunct and absolute participial clauses on the other. To this end, a discourse-analytic approach to preposed (predominantly sentence-initially placed) subclauses and participial clauses will be adopted, in order to investigate their contribution to the articulation of the text at points of segmentation.

## 1 *Real World Construction*

The narrator's first task is to ensure that his narrative is coherent. A historian who (re-)constructs reality imposes order in the raw data of experience; he will therefore select and group certain historical events, while disregarding others. In a text, these historical events are captured in words, phrases, and clauses which build sentences, and these sentences themselves constitute distinct discourse segments that form the brickstones of a (historiographic) narrative text. Such a discourse segment, usually consisting of several connected sentences, but sometimes of just one, will be referred to as Development Unit (DU). The narrative events expressed in adjacent DU's will have to have something in common, lest incoherence ensue. This 'something' is usually referred to as 'thematic unity'; DU's reflecting 'thematic unity' may be called *thematic units*. Thematic units usually consist of several (narrative) statements that are coherent with respect to,

basically, four 'coherence strands' (Givón, 1990: 827 n. 3);[1] see Givón, 1990: 896-897:

> Human communication—message, discourse—is most typically *not* mono-propositional, but rather multi-propositional. This boils down to a statement about coherence: "The thematic coherence of discourse is multi-propositional". Coherence over multi-propositional spans means continuity or recurrence of some elements. The most easily identifiable recurring elements of thematic coherence, and the ones most conspicuously coded in grammars, are:
>
> (a) Referential coherence
> (b) Temporal coherence
> (c) Locational coherence
> (d) Action-event coherence
>
> Put another way, coherent discourse tends to maintain, over a span of several propositions, respectively:
>
> (a) the same referent ('topic')
> (b) the same or contiguous time
> (c) the same or contiguous location
> (d) sequential action

Any change in the current setting with respect to participants, time, or place (or, to a lesser extent: action) involves discontinuity of the discourse. It remains to be seen, however, whether this alleged discontinuity is grammatically coded, and if so, in what manner. *A priori*, this seems to be a matter of decision on the part of the speaker regarding the presentation of event-sequences in discourse.

## 2 *Text Articulation and Segmentation*

Text articulation is brought about by a variety of linguistic devices; several signals of a formal nature, most notably the usage of particles like (μέν...) δέ, καί and οὖν, the aspectual system, and sentence-initially placed subordinate clauses and adverbials, are put into practice in order to indicate the (dis-)continuity of a text. Some of these devices are used for segmenting the text. A sure sign that the

[1] Cf. also Givón, 1993 II: 286-287.

text is segmented is provided by the occurrence of 'solitary'[2] δέ in the left sentence-margin. The particle marks the onset of a new DU and as such articulates a small-scale textual boundary, but it does no more than indicate that a new DU has been started, without any further indication as to how this DU fits into the larger whole of which it is a part. When the initial position of a sentence containing δέ is occupied by an ἐπεί-, ἐπειδή-, or ὡς-clause, or a participial clause, these clauses are likely to perform a text-organizational function, since it is of high importance with respect to the flow of information in discourse that the reader/hearer is informed about how he is to link the upcoming text segment to what precedes at the very beginning of the sentence.

The segmentation of text into successive DU's often corresponds to the articulation of thematic units in discourse, but the two need not coincide: thematic segmentation is usually reflected by linguistic devices segmenting the text, but segmentation of the text with linguistic means does not necessarily imply thematic discontinuity (see also Bakker, 1993: 288).

Segmentation of the text may involve linkage of DU's. Linkage may occur through various forms of back-reference which may involve gain or loss of information; this happens when at the onset of a DU (part of) the last fragment of the preceding DU is repeated (Tail-Head Linkage) or summarized (Summary-Head Linkage),[3] or when a reciprocal action is expressed (Reciprocal Coupling).[4] Such a back-reference may be established by means of lexical overlap, propositional overlap, or by the continuation of an expectancy chain. Here, too, there may but need not be a one-to-one correspondence: linkage of one DU to another necessarily involves discourse segmentation, but the articulation of a new DU may occur without the DU's involved being actually linked.

Successive DU's may build up together a coherent text block, to be referred to as a Build Up unit (BU); several BU's may constitute a Paragraph. As an illustration I present in the following Section an

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[2] As opposed to δέ as part of a μέν...δέ construction; for the latter, see Bakker, 1993: 298-305.

[3] In *Anabasis* 3.3.1, discussed as example [12] below, ταῦτα ποιήσαντες (without a particle, e.g. δέ) summarizes the preceding (Summary-Head Linkage), while ἀριστοποιουμένων (followed by δέ) repeats ἠριστοποιοῦντο (Tail-Head Linkage).

[4] See for instance Section 2.1 below, where the onset of DU 3 is marked by an instance of reciprocal coupling (ἀκούσας ταῦτα, after εἶπεν introducing direct speech), without a particle.

overview of the linguistic articulation at points of segmentation in a longer passage: the story of Mania (*Hellenica* 3.1.10-16). Besides one sentence-initially placed subclause, it contains several sentence-initially placed participial clauses, the discussion of which will provide a basis for the general description of the contribution of sentence-initially placed subordinate clauses to text-segmentation.

### 2.1 *Segmentation in the Story of Mania (*Hellenica *3.1.10-16)*

The following figure presents the complete story of Mania, embedded in the account of Dercylidas's actions in Asia Minor: after the death of her husband, Mania aims at succeeding him as a satrap of the province of Aeolis, which belongs to Pharnabazus. Therefore she visits Pharnabazus and tries to persuade him. Her words convince him and he makes her mistress of the province. In this capacity, she is a true and faithful satrap to him. Her son-in-law Meidias, set up against her, is said to have killed her and her son. He wishes to take over the satrapy, but fails in the attempt.

In my opinion, segmentation takes place on three levels here: on the lowest level of segmentation, a Development Unit (DU) is articulated by means of the particle δέ or Reciprocal Coupling; on a hierarchically higher level, we find articulation of a Build Up unit (BU); then one or more BU's build up text segments on the highest level, to be distinguished as Sequence Paragraph (SP) or Embedded Paragraph (EP).[5]

[5] I give the linguistic devices to be discussed in bold face; particles marking textual boundaries are underlined. Only those subordinate clauses used at points of discourse segmentation, i.e. at the onset of a new DU, are printed in bold face. The preposed subclause ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκεῖνος νόσῳ ἀπέθανε is not, since in corresponding to the subclause ἕως μὲν ἔζη it "serves the purpose of discourse complementation" (Bakker, 1993: 299).

*Figure 1: The Structure of the Mania Story*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | …καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν τοσούτῳ διέφερεν εἰς τὸ ἄρχειν τοῦ Θίβρωνος ὥστε παρήγαγε τὸ στράτευμα διὰ τῆς φιλίας χώρας μέχρι τῆς Φαρναβάζου Αἰολίδος οὐδὲν βλάψας τοὺς συμμάχους. |
| SP 1 | BU 1 | DU 1 | ἡ δὲ Αἰολὶς αὕτη ἦν μὲν Φαρναβάζου, ἐσατράπευε δ' αὐτῷ ταύτης τῆς χώρας, ἕως μὲν ἔζη, Ζῆνις Δαρδανεύς· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκεῖνος νόσῳ ἀπέθανε, παρασκευαζομένου τοῦ Φαρναβάζου ἄλλῳ δοῦναι τὴν σατραπείαν, Μανία ἡ τοῦ Ζήνιος γυνή, Δαρδανὶς καὶ αὐτή, ἀναζεύξασα στόλον καὶ δῶρα λαβοῦσα ὥστε καὶ αὐτῷ Φαρναβάζῳ δοῦναι καὶ παλλακίσιν αὐτοῦ χαρίσασθαι καὶ τοῖς δυναμένοις μάλιστα παρὰ Φαρναβάζῳ, ἐπορεύετο. |
| | BU 2 | DU 2 | **ἐλθοῦσα δ' εἰς λόγους** εἶπεν· Ὦ Φαρνάβαζε, ὁ ἀνήρ σοι ὁ ἐμὸς καὶ τἆλλα φίλος ἦν καὶ τοὺς φόρους ἀπεδίδου ὥστε σὺ ἐπαινῶν αὐτὸν ἐτίμας. ἂν οὖν ἐγώ σοι μηδὲν χεῖρον ἐκείνου ὑπηρετῶ, τί σε δεῖ ἄλλον σατράπην καθιστάναι; ἂν δέ τί σοι μὴ ἀρέσκω, ἐπὶ σοὶ δήπου ἔσται ἀφελομένῳ ἐμὲ ἄλλῳ δοῦναι τὴν ἀρχήν. |
| | | DU 3 | **ἀκούσας ταῦτα** ὁ Φαρνάβαζος ἔγνω δεῖν τὴν γυναῖκα σατραπεύειν. |
| EP | BU 1 | DU 4 | ἡ **δ' ἐπεὶ κυρία τῆς χώρας ἐγένετο**, τούς τε φόρους οὐδὲν ἧττον τἀνδρὸς ἀπεδίδου, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις, ὁπότε ἀφικνοῖτο πρὸς Φαρνάβαζον, ἀεὶ ἦγε δῶρα αὐτῷ, καὶ ὁπότε ἐκεῖνος εἰς τὴν χώραν καταβαίνοι, πολὺ πάντων τῶν ὑπάρχων κάλλιστα καὶ ἥδιστα ἐδέχετο αὐτόν, καὶ ἅς τε παρέλαβε πόλεις διεφύλαττεν αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν οὐχ ὑπηκόων προσέλαβεν ἐπιθαλαττιδίας Λάρισάν τε καὶ Ἁμαξιτὸν καὶ Κολωνάς, ξενικῷ μὲν Ἑλληνικῷ προσβαλοῦσα τοῖς τείχεσιν, αὐτὴ δὲ ἐφ' ἁρμαμάξης θεωμένη· |
| | | DU 5 | ὃν δ' ἐπαινέσειε, τούτῳ δῶρα ἀμέμπτως ἐδίδου, ὥστε λαμπρότατα τὸ ξενικὸν κατεσκευάσατο. |
| | | DU 6 | συνεστρατεύετο δὲ τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ καὶ ὁπότε εἰς Μυσοὺς ἢ Πισίδας ἐμβάλοι, ὅτι τὴν βασιλέως χώραν κακουργοῦσιν. ὥστε καὶ ἀντετίμα αὐτὴν μεγαλοπρεπῶς ὁ Φαρνάβαζος καὶ σύμβουλον ἔστιν ὅτε παρεκάλει. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| SP 2 | BU 1 | DU 7 | ***ἤδη δ᾽ οὔσης αὐτῆς ἐτῶν πλέον ἢ τετταράκοντα***, Μειδίας, *θυγατρὸς ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ὤν, ἀναπτερωθεὶς ὑπό τινων ὡς αἰσχρὸν εἴη γυναῖκα μὲν ἄρχειν, αὐτὸν δ᾽ ἰδιώτην εἶναι, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους μάλα φυλαττομένης αὐτῆς, ὥσπερ ἐν τυραννίδι προσῆκεν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ πιστευούσης καὶ ἀσπαζομένης ὥσπερ ἂν γυνὴ γαμβρὸν ἀσπάζοιτο, εἰσελθὼν ἀποπνῖξαι αὐτὴν λέγεται.* |
| | | DU 8 | *ἀπέκτεινε δὲ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς, τό τε εἶδος ὄντα πάγκαλον καὶ ἐτῶν ὄντα ὡς ἑπτακαίδεκα.* |
| | BU 2 | DU 9 | ***ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας*** Σκῆψιν *καὶ* Γέργιθα *ἐχυρὰς πόλεις κατέσχεν, ἔνθα καὶ τὰ χρήματα μάλιστα ἦν τῇ* Μ*ανίᾳ.* |
| | | DU 10 | *αἱ δ᾽ ἄλλαι πόλεις οὐκ ἐδέχοντο αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ* Φ*αρναβάζῳ ἔσῳζον αὐτὰς οἱ ἐνόντες φρουροί.* |
| | BU 3 | DU 11 | ***ἐκ δὲ τούτου*** *ὁ* Μειδίας *πέμψας δῶρα τῷ* Φ*αρναβάζῳ ἠξίου ἔχειν τὴν χώραν ὥσπερ ἡ* Μ*ανία.* |
| | | DU 12 | *ὁ δ᾽ ἀπεκρίνατο φυλάττειν αὐτά, ἔστ᾽ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ λάβῃ τὰ δῶρα· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔφη ζῆν βούλεσθαι μὴ τιμωρήσας* Μ*ανίᾳ.* |
| | | | *ὁ δὲ* Δ*ερκυλίδας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἀφικνεῖται* … |

*Translation:*

…And from the outset he was so superior to Thibron in the exercise of command that he led his troops through the friendly country all the way to the Aeolis, in the territory of Pharnabazus, without doing any harm whatever to his allies. [DU 1] This Aeolis belonged to Pharnabazus, but the satrap of this territory on his behalf had been, during his lifetime, Zenis of Dardanus; now Zenis had died of illness, and Pharnabazus was preparing to give the satrapy to another man, when Mania, the wife of Zenis, who was also a Dardanian, fitted out a great retinue and took presents with her to give to Pharnabazus himself and to use for winning the favor of his concubines and the men who had the greatest influence at the court of Pharnabazus, and set forth to visit him. [DU 2] She gained an audience with him and said: "Pharnabazus, my husband was not only a friend to you in all other ways, but he also paid over the tributes which were your due, so that you commended and honoured him. Now, therefore, if I serve you no less faithfully than he, why should you appoint another as satrap? If I fail to please you in any point, surely it will be within your power to deprive me of my office and give it to another". [DU 3] Upon hearing this, Pharnabazus decided that the woman should be satrap. [DU 4] As for her—she had become mistress of the province—she not only paid over the tributes no less faithfully than had her husband, but besides this, whenever she went to the court of Pharnabazus she always

brought him gifts, and whenever he came down to her province she received him with far more magnificence and courtesy than any of his other governors; and she not only kept securely for Pharnabazus the cities which she had received from her husband, but also gained possession of cities on the coast which had not been subject to him, Larisa, Hamaxitus, and Colonae—attacking their walls with a Greek mercenary force, looking on herself from a carriage; [DU 5] and any man whom she approved of, she bestowed bounteous gifts upon, so that she equipped her mercenary force in the most splendid fashion. [DU 6] She also accompanied Pharnabazus in the field, even when he invaded the land of the Mysians or the Pisidians because they ravaged the King's territory. In return for these services Pharnabazus paid her magnificent honours, and sometimes asked her to aid him as a counsellor. [DU 7] She was by now more than forty years old, when Meidias, who was the husband of her daughter, was disturbed by certain people saying that it was a disgraceful thing for a woman to be the ruler while he was in private station; now she guarded herself carefully against all other people, as was proper for an absolute ruler, but she trusted him and gave him her affection, as a woman naturally would to a son-in-law, and so he made his way into her presence, as the story goes, and strangled her. [DU 8] He also killed her son, a youth of very great beauty about seventeen years old. [DU 9] Having done these things, he seized the strong cities of Scepsis and Gergis, where Mania had kept the most of her treasure. [DU 10] The other cities would not admit him into their walls, but the garrisons that were in them kept them safe for Pharnabazus. [DU 11] Then Meidias sent gifts to Pharnabazus and claimed the right to be ruler of the province, even as Mania had been. [DU 12] He in reply told him to take good care of his gifts until he came in person and took possession of them and of him too; for he said that he would not wish to live without having avenged Mania. It was at this juncture that Dercylidas arrived …

The first DU is internally organized by two *μέν* … δέ-constructions. The following features deserve attention: *ἡ δὲ Αἰολὶς αὕτη* is the first (sentence-) topic; two statements are made concerning the constitutional situation of the place (*ἦν μέν… ἐσατράπευε δ'*), which may be called backgrounded to the extent that the information conveyed is something the reader/hearer needs in order to orient him(/her-)self towards the sequel; they do not belong to the narrative assertion, whence the imperfects. The δέ-member contains the subclause *ἕως μὲν ἔζη*, which prepares for a contrasting situation, the expectancy being that something will be said about the situation when Zenis was no longer alive. This expectancy is met by the content of the subclause *ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκεῖνος νόσῳ ἀπέθανε*—a punctual action

presented by an aorist stem.[6] With the genitive absolute *παρασκευαζομένου τοῦ Φαρναβάζου ἄλλῳ δοῦναι τὴν σατραπείαν*, more orienting information is provided: the information is salient for a correct understanding of the sequel, but no narrative event is expressed; hence the present stem. Then Mania appears on the stage: she is the new topic, and one of the leading participants in the story, which accounts for the detailed introduction she receives (*Μανία ἡ τοῦ Ζήνιος γυνή, Δαρδανὶς καὶ αὐτή*). Via two preposed aorist participles presenting the verbal actions as punctual narrative events (*ἀναζεύξασα στόλον καὶ δῶρα λαβοῦσα*) the reader/hearer is guided towards the finite verb *ἐπορεύετο*: the imperfect, with which the actual story starts, is used because the current narrative sequence is in progress, and an expectancy chain is set in motion: when Mania sets forth to visit Pharnabazus, the sequel will most probably continue with an account of their encounter; Mania is expected to gain an audience with Pharnabazus.

This turns out to be the case: the second DU is devoted to a conversation between the two. Mania tries to convince Pharnabazus to give the satrapy to her; in reaction to her words Pharnabazus decides that the woman should be satrap.

The second BU has two interesting examples of conjunct participles serving the segmentation on the level of text articulation (*ἐλθοῦσα δ' εἰς λόγους* and *ἀκούσας ταῦτα*). First, it should be observed that *qua information status*, they differ from the participles *ἀναζεύξασα στόλον καὶ δῶρα λαβοῦσα*, in that the latter convey entirely new information, whereas *ἐλθοῦσα δ' εἰς λόγους* and *ἀκούσας ταῦτα* are contextually prepared and almost-given, respectively. The information contained in the participial clause *ἐλθοῦσα δ' εἰς λόγους* (Mania gained an audience with Parnabazus) is not, in itself, highly salient or important, the less so since the actions fit into a sequence consisting of a verb of motion towards Pharnabazus (*ἐπορεύετο*) and of speaking to him (*εἶπεν*). On the basis of the preceding *ὥστε καὶ αὐτῷ Φαρναβάζῳ δοῦναι* (*sc.* *δῶρα*) *καὶ παλλακίσιν αὐτοῦ χαρίσασθαι καὶ τοῖς δυναμένοις μάλιστα παρὰ Φαρναβάζῳ, ἐπορεύετο*, the expectancy is created that Mania will gain an audience with Pharnabazus. If the audience were refused to her, it would have been worth telling; as

[6] The aorist stem may be said to be morphologically unmarked for this event-type; see Bakker, 1994: 26-27.

things stand, the fact that she gained audience with him could have been left out from an informational point of view: if it were absent, the reader/hearer would not be at a loss at all as to what happened: "she went to visit him and said" would make a perfectly understandable sequence. However, the story is built up differently here: I consider the first SP to consist of two BU's each containing an event-sequence of its own: the first is about Mania's preparations to become mistress of the province, the second is about how she achieves her goal. By the use of the participial clause ἐλθοῦσα δ' εἰς λόγους, the two BU's are separated, and, insofar as the verbal action is part of an expectancy chain, linked. The contribution of the participial clause resides in its drawing the attention of the reader/hearer towards a specific part of Mania's visit, *viz.*, her conversation with Pharnabazus; her words are significantly rendered in direct speech. However that be, the fact that the verbal action follows naturally on the preceding one and is in fact anticipated to, and therefore dispensable *qua* information unit, only proves that a text articulating function is performed. This is even more conspicuous in the case of the conjunct participle ἀκούσας ταῦτα. This participial clause illustrates a phenomenon known as 'reciprocal coupling'; here εἶπεν and ἀκούσας are reciprocals. Reciprocal coupling finds itself somewhere between totally resumptive clauses and clauses containing contextually prepared information (note also the anaphoric pronoun ταῦτα). Here, as often, it serves to articulate a topic-switch from the one participant (Mania) to the other (Pharnabazus); at the same time, its functional dimensions extend to the field of meta-textual communication between the narrator and his addressee: in a language that does not use quotation marks the insertion of a clause such as ἀκούσας ταῦτα indicates that the passage of direct speech has come to an end. Reciprocal coupling is comparable to restatement and summary in that it is a special case of back-reference at the onset of a new DU to (part of) the preceding unit.

Comparing the conjunct participles in SP 1, we can conclude that a relation exists between the information status of the clause on the one hand and the text-organizing function it performs on the other: the participial clauses illustrate the claim made in Chapter 1, Section 2.2.3 that the lower the information status of an entity is, the greater its text articulating function. For that matter, in cases like ἐλθοῦσα δ' εἰς λόγους and ἀκούσας ταῦτα it is clear that much is gained in the understanding of the functional dimensions of participial clauses in

Ancient Greek when they are *not* taken as conveying temporal information; a temporal interpretation puts more emphasis on the semantic relation between the content of the participial clause and its matrix clause than is actually expressed in the Greek, and leaves their textual function underexposed.

The next paragraph is an embedded paragraph: it is about what kind of satrap Mania was to Pharnabazus. The boundary between DU 3 and DU 4 is 'heavily' articulated. By means of the Theme Construction ἡ δ' ἐπεὶ κυρία τῆς χώρας ἐγένετο, Mania is re-introduced as the topic of the upcoming unit. The preposed subclause ἐπεὶ κυρία τῆς χώρας ἐγένετο continues the narrative sequence of events by presenting contextually prepared information—the fact that Mania became mistress of the province is the next logical step, and therefore the one to be expected after ὁ Φαρνάβαζος ἔγνω δεῖν τὴν γυναῖκα σατραπεύειν. The subclause thus links the upcoming unit to the preceding one, but at the same time it makes the point that had been reached the frame of reference for a paragraph[7] that as a whole will turn out to be off the narrative line, for at this point in the story the narrator changes his *mode of discourse*, so to speak, from the storytelling mode to the communicative mode (compare Fleischman, 1990: 113-119). The preposed subclause ἐπεὶ κυρία τῆς χώρας ἐγένετο presents a statement about the Real World which effects a change in the current narrative setting, but at the same time *defines the thematic domain within which the upcoming non-diegetic paragraph is set.* Here, a subclause is used because of the interplay between the presentation of a Real World situation and the narrator's decision on presentation.

The paragraph is of expository nature, rather than narrative. There is no progression of narrative time. Apart from the marking of non-semelfactive actions,[8] the paragraph is built up not chronologically, but logically: the mentioning of a Greek mercenary force (ξενικῷ μὲν Ἑλληνικῷ προσβαλοῦσα τοῖς τείχεσιν) evokes the sub-topic of how she behaved towards her subordinates (DU 5; note the addition ὥστε λαμπρότατα τὸ ξενικὸν κατεσκευάσατο), after which the description continues with her accompanying Pharnabazus in the field, a sub-topic that is contextually evoked by

[7] In fact, as the continuative subclause is the only narrative clause of the embedded paragraph, the entire paragraph is under its scope.

[8] ὁπότε ἀφικνοῖτο, ἀεί ἦγε, ὁπότε καταβαίνοι, ὃν ἐπαινέσειε, ὁπότε ἐμβάλοι, ἔστιν ὅτε παρεκάλει.

the preceding recording of her active warfare against the cities on the coast—note the fact that the topical verb *συνεστρατεύετο*, an imperfect, occupies the sentence-initial position.[9]

Whereas the change-overs from DU 4 to DU 5, and from DU 5 to DU 6 are rather smooth, the re-start of the narrative sequence in DU 7 receives extra marking. Before the first narrative clauses *εἰσελθὼν ἀποπνῖξαι (λέγεται)* are reached, Meidias has to be introduced. His appearance and way of conduct are pivotal to the story; this 'discourse peak'[10] is marked by an unusual cluster of conjunct participles and genitive absolute constructions that all provide background information—note the use of the aspectual forms: present stem participles (*οὔσης*, *ὢ ν* , *φυλαττομένης*, *πιστευούσης καὶ ἀσπαζομένης*) and one passive aorist participle (*ἀναπτερωθεὶς*). The present stem sentence-initially placed genitive absolute *ἤδη δ' οὔσης αὐτῆς ἐτῶν πλέον ἢ τετταράκοντα*, while expressing information that does not belong to the narrative assertion, helps to articulate the transition from a general description to a specific event: it creates the expectation that the narrative sequence will be continued. It also indicates that some time has passed, albeit implicitly, for the information that Mania was more than forty years old only implies, with the help of *ἤδη*, that she was younger before. At the same time, the genitive absolute helps in participant tracking: Mania remains an active participant in the story, at a point where Meidias has to be introduced.

The second SP has six DU's. The boundaries between these DU's are of unequal status. The onset of DU 9 and DU 11 have been articulated by means of the resumptive participial clause *ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας* and the adverbial expression *ἐκ δὲ τούτου*, respectively. As these boundaries have received extra linguisic marking, the part of the text they open has been interpreted as a BU within a paragraph. On a hierarchically lower level, i.e., the articulation of a new DU within a BU, the transitions are less heavily marked. At the beginning of DU 8, for instance, the verbal constituent occupying the sentence-initial position is, again, topical (the notion of 'killing' is contextually evoked by *ἀποπνῖξαι* in DU 7); in DU 9 and 10 cities which he seized are contrasted to the other cities that would not admit him within their

[9] See H. Dik, 1995, Chapter 7.
[10] See Longacre, 1985.

walls; finally, BU 3 (DU 11 and 12) consist of a question-and-answer sequence.

All in all, the story of Mania shows that ongoing narrative is segmented with different means, and to different effects. The marking of a new DU by 'solitary' δέ is the least radical way of segmenting the text. Participial clauses may be used when the text is segmented on a hierarchically higher level, where boundaries between BU's are articulated. When boundaries pertain to not only the text itself, but also the (re-)constructed Real World, a subclause is chosen.

## 3 *Form and Function of Subordinate Clauses*

From the requirement that the historiographic narrator has to secure that his audience is presented with a comprehensible picture of the Real World that is (re-)constructed in the form of narrative text, it follows that world construction is prior to text articulation. The historiographic narrator will select certain Real World events and organize these selected yet still scattered events into meaningful ensembles (see Chapter 1, Section 2.1). Thus, he will first make a cognitive arrangement of historical events in thematic structures, and then decide on how these thematic structures will have to be articulated linguistically.

Whenever the narrator wishes to create a boundary pertaining to the thematic organization of the Real World in the form of narrative text, it is *a priori* to be expected that this point in the text receives a more 'heavy' linguistic coding than when the text is segmented within an on-going thematic structure, lest the audience miss the narrator's decision on presentation of the Real World that is described. In this connection, the difference in form of the grammatical class of subclauses on the one hand, and the grammatical class of participial clauses on the other deserves more attention than it has received thus far; as formal differences do not exist without purpose in any language, they may very well be at the heart of the distribution of preposed subordinate clauses used at the onset of a new DU in (historiographic) narrative discourse, and as such be relevant for the analysis of the discourse function of these subordinate clauses, and therewith for the interpretation of the text itself. Therefore, the formal

differences between the allegedly alternative subordinate clauses will now be discussed.

### 3.1 *Desententialization*

Traditional grammarians who attempted to characterize the degree of subordination of subclauses, genitive absolute constructions, and conjunct participles in sentence level semantic terms intuitively felt that there is a difference in the 'independency' of these clauses with respect to their matrix clause (usually called 'main clause' or 'leading verb'): a subclause is regarded by them as a more independent construction than a genitive absolute, which in its turn is considered more independent than a conjunct participle. Thus for instance Schwyzer-Debrunner (1950: 397, my italics):

> Wie z.B. im Arischen, erscheinen auch im Griechischen vom Beginn der Überlieferung an sog. absolute Partizipialkonstruktionen, d.h. aus Substantiv + Ptz. bestehende Fügungen, *die dem übrigen Teil des Satzes selbständig gegenüberstehen* (für die geläufige Übersetzungsweise im Wert eines Nebensatzes).

Cf. also Bornemann-Risch (1973: 245, my italics):

> Weil auch der Gen.abs. eine Nebenhandlung zum übergeordneten Prädikat ausdrückt, entspricht seine Übersetzung der eines Ptc.coni.; daher sind beide in dem §246 parallel behandelt, obwohl der (zweigliedrige) Gen.abs. als eine Konstruktion (ein "Syntagma") mit eigenem Subjekt vom Griechischen aus gesehen, *in höherem Maße satzwertig* (Äquivalent eines Nebensatzes) *ist.*

Note the preoccupation here with the issue of how to translate them. See also Humbert (1960: 282, my italics):

> il semble en effet que différents types de génitif faisant partie de la phrase ont pu, le sens aidant, en être abstraits et, avec l'aide du participe, constituer *une sorte de proposition indépendante*: le génitif absolu.

In my opinion, what seems to be the grammarian's intuition, *viz.*, that the clause types in question differ in degrees of 'independency', can be described as a corollary of their being *desententialized* to varying degrees as reflected by the formal properties each clause type possesses.

In Lehmann (1988: see especially 193-200), the notion of desententialization is introduced as follows (193):

> The third of the parameters that structure a typology of clause linkage is the degree to which the subordinate clause is expanded or reduced (…). In the reduction process, it loses the properties of a clause, it is *desententialized* to varying degrees. Components of the clause which allow reference to a specific state of affairs are dropped; the state of affairs is 'typified'. At the same time, the subordinate clause increasingly acquires nominal properties, both internally and in its distribution.

Now consider the following examples:

[1] *Hellenica* 4.3.3
*ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος διαλλάξας* Μακεδονίαν *εἰς* Θετταλίαν ***ἀφίκετο***. Λαρισαῖοι *μὲν οὖν καὶ* Κραννώνιοι *καὶ* Σκοτουσσαῖοι *καὶ* Φαρσάλιοι, *σύμμαχοι ὄντες* Βοιωτοῖς, *καὶ πάντες δὲ* Θετταλοί, *πλὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν φυγάδες τότ' ἐτύγχανον, ἐκακούργουν αὐτὸν ἐπακολουθοῦντες.*

Agesilaus passed through Macedonia and **arrived** in Thessaly. The Larisaeans, Crannonians, Scotussaeans, and Pharsalians, who were allies of the Boeotians, and in fact all the Thessalians except those of them who chanced at that time to be exiles, followed after him and molested him.

[2] *Agesilaus* 2.2
***ἐπεὶ*** *δὲ ἐξαμείψας* Μακεδονίαν *εἰς* Θετταλίαν ***ἀφίκετο***[11], Λαρισαῖοι *μὲν καὶ* Κραννώνιοι *καὶ* Σκοτουσαῖοι *καὶ* Φαρσάλιοι *σύμμαχοι ὄντες* Βοιωτοῖς, *καὶ πάντες δὲ* Θετταλοὶ *πλὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν φυγάδες τότε ὄντες ἐτύγχανον, ἐκακούργουν αὐτὸν ἐφεπόμενοι.*

**When** he passed through Macedonia and **arrived** in Thessaly, the Larisaeans, Crannonians, Scotussaeans, and Pharsalians, who were allies of the Boeotians, and in fact all the Thessalians except those of them who chanced at that time to be exiles, followed at his heels and molested him.

[3] *Hellenica* 7.2.7
*ἐπεὶ δὲ* ***κραυγῆς*** *εἰς τὴν πόλιν* ***ἀφικομένης*** *ἐβοήθουν οἱ πολῖται, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπεξελθόντες ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως οἱ πολέμιοι ἐμάχοντο ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν τῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν φερουσῶν πυλῶν·*

When—an **outcry having reached** the city—the citizens came to the rescue, at first the enemy issued forth from the Acropolis and fought in the space in front of the gates which lead to the city.

[11] *ὑφίκετο* A : corr. D m. 2.

[4] *Hellenica* 1.5.1
*οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρότερον τούτων οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ Κρατησιππίδᾳ τῆς ναυαρχίας παρεληλυθυίας Λύσανδρον ἐξέπεμψαν ναύαρχον. ὁ δὲ* **ἀφικόμενος** *εἰς Ῥόδον καὶ ναῦς ἐκεῖθεν λαβών, εἰς Κῶ καὶ Μίλητον ἔπλευσεν, ἐκεῖθεν δ' εἰς Ἔφεσον, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμεινε ναῦς ἔχων ἑβδομήκοντα μέχρι οὗ Κῦρος εἰς Σάρδεις* **ἀφίκετο**.

Not long before this—Cratesippidas' term of office having expired—the Lacedaemonians had sent out Lysander as admiral. He, **having arrived** at Rhodes and having secured some ships there, sailed to Cos and Miletus, and from there to Ephesus, and there he remained with seventy ships until Cyrus **arrived** at Sardis.

All examples contain verbal actions of arriving + *εἰς* in the aorist; [1] and [2] consist of the parallel passage in the *Hellenica* and the *Agesilaus* discussed in Chapter 2, Section 4, NMP 4.

In [1], we have an independent clause with a finite verb. The clause *ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξαμείψας Μακεδονίαν εἰς Θετταλίαν ἀφίκετο* in [2] differs minimally from the corresponding independent clause in [1], apart from the fact that it is headed by a semantically non-specific relator (*ἐπεί*); in the *μέχρι οὗ*-clause in [4], too, a narrative event is expressed by a finite verb, though here the semantically specific relator indicates that the content of the subclause is to be related unequivocally temporally to the content of the matrix clause. At this low degree of desententialization the subordinate construction is still a finite clause, whereas in the other subordinate constructions in [3] and [4] the verbal constituent becomes non-finite. Note in this connection that in a genitive absolute, when a *neuter plural* fills the subject slot (i.e., in the genitive), the verb not only is non-finite (i.e., a participle) but also in the *plural*, instead of in the singular, as in the corresponding finite clause. As such, the standard procedure is different in finite clauses. In terms of agreement, when we combine the fact that generally there is more freedom and variation when the degree of desententialization is relatively low, with the fact that the peculiar agreement rule for neuter subjects applies to finite clauses, but not to genitives absolute, we may safely assume that the genitive absolute is desententialized to a higher degree than the subclause. Since desententialization transforms a clause into a category of a lower

syntactic level, the agreement phenomenon is, indirectly, also evidence for desententialization.[12]

In [3], the subject slot of the subordinate verb is converted to an oblique slot, the genitive. This is another feature of desententialization. The conjunct participle in [4] is even more strongly desententialized than the genitive absolute in [3]. In the case of a conjunct participle, which carries inflection markers for gender, case, and number, the subject of the subordinate verb is identical with the NP with which it agrees in gender, number, and case, either expressed or inferrable.[13] This NP performs a syntactic function inside its matrix clause. In sharing an element of its matrix clause, a conjunct participle is more integrated into its matrix clause than a genitive absolute, which more often than not has the subject of the subordinate verb expressed, while the subject of the genitive absolute does not perform a syntactic function in the matrix clause. The fact that the subject of the absolute clause is expressed, then, is a sign that *qua* clause type, the genitive absolute is syntactically more independent, and therefore less strongly desententialized than the conjunct participle.[14]

Finally, the infinitival clause (which for that matter is outside the scope of the present discussion) occupies a position in between the subclause and the genitive absolute, as the infinitive unlike the finite form does not carry the agreement markers for person and number, and unlike the participle[15] does not carry the inflection markers for

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[12] Christian Lehmann, personal communication (via e-mail).

[13] An absolute nominative, usually called 'nominativus pendens,' does in fact occur, albeit rarely (e.g., *Hellenica* 2.3.54; 4.1.24).

[14] Like the genitive absolute, the accusative absolute is, less strongly desententialized than the conjunct participle. Unlike the genitive absolute, it usually does not have its subject expressed (i.e. when used with impersonal verbs); sometimes, however, its subject is expressed: the infinitive with or without *τό* with impersonal verbs, with personal verbs when headed by *ὡς* or *ὥσπερ*, or, rarely, with personal verbs without being headed by *ὡς* or *ὥσπερ*. Within the latter category, different degrees of desententialization can be seen when we compare *Anabasis* 1.3.20: *ἔδοξε ταῦτα* (singular finite main verb), *Anabasis* 4.1.13: *δόξαν δὲ ταῦτα* (accusative absolute with singular participle), *Hellenica* 3.2.19: *δόξαντα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ περανθέντα* (accusative absolute with plural participle) and *Hellenica* 1.7.30: *καὶ δοξάντων τούτων* (genitive absolute with plural participle).

[15] Cf. Fox (1983: 28): "As the participle in Ancient Greek carries nominal inflections whereas the infinitive does not, in spite of the fact that they are equal with regard to all other morphological categories, the participle should be correlated with a more nominal function than the infinitive. As a result, the infinitive should appear more typically verbal—that is, LESS DEPENDENT on other verb forms—than the

gender, number, and case. The continuum of desententialization for Ancient Greek clause types is diagrammed in figure 2:

*Figure 2: Continuum of Desententialization*

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | *Desententialization* | | |
| | WEAK | <————————————— | | > STRONG |
| Independent Clause | Subclause → | Infinitival Clause → | Genitive Absolute → | Conjunct Participle |

### 3.2 *(Dis-)Continuity and Linguistic Coding*

On the assumption outlined above that the articulation of the text follows on the (re-)construction of Real World events, we may go one step further and say that the grammatical means by which a point of segmentation is marked is linked up with the kind of segmentation involved. Given that there is at least some degree of discontinuity in the text at a point of segmentation, we may consider the continuum of discontinuity to range from situations of small-scale discontinuity on the one extreme of the continuum (e.g., the next step in an action sequence, marked by δέ or 'reciprocal coupling', while referent(s), time, location and action-sequence remain highly continuous), to discontinuity of all coherence strands at the same time, on the other. In between, there is a large amount of possibilities, to be encoded linguistically by the speaker according to his mental conception of the narrative.

(Dis-)continuity comes in different degrees. For example, there may be discontinuity with respect to just one of the coherence strands, or with respect to several coherence strands at the same time; in the latter case the degree of discontinuity is higher than in the former.

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participle. There is some evidence from Ancient Greek that this is in fact the case. Indirect discourse—discourse after a verb of speaking—can be constructed using the complementizers *hoti* or *hos* and a finite form, or it can be constructed with just an infinitive, and no complementizer. The use of zero complementizer + infinitive after a verb of speaking is so widespread in Ancient Greek that even several lines after the verb of speaking occurs, what appear to be full, independent main clauses are formed around infinitives, rather than finite forms. (…) The infinitive can thus function syntactically in a relatively independent manner. Participles, on the other hand, cannot be used in this way, which seems to indicate that the participle is a less independent, less typically verbal, form than the infinitive".

Moreover, when a change in the current temporal setting occurs, the discourse is likely to be discontinuous with respect to (one of the) other coherence strands as well. Further, changes with respect to one of the coherence strands itself may show various degrees of (dis-)continuity: referential (dis-)continuity may involve one or more participants, and besides bringing a participant to or removing him off the stage, we find addition of a single participant to a topical set of participants; spatial (dis-)continuity may range from rather local to more global, and so on.

We now state that the higher the degree of discontinuity with respect to one or more of the four coherence strands, the deeper the incision in the composition of the discourse, and the higher the degree of linguistic coding is, as illustrated in figure 3:

*Figure 3: Continuum of Discontinuity at Points of Segmentation and Linguistic Coding*

LOW *Degree of Discontinuity* HIGH
<——————————————————>
LOW *Degree of Linguistic Coding* HIGH
<——————————————————>

As far as subordinate clauses occupying the sentence-initial position at points of segmentation are concerned, a high degree of desententialization corresponds to a low degree of linguistic coding, while a low degree of desententialization corresponds to a high degree of linguistic coding. Therefore, a high degree of desententialization corresponds to a high degree of (thematic) continuity, while a low degree of desententialization corresponds to a high degree of discontinuity, i.e. discontinuity at points where segmentation takes place not only on the level of text articulation, but also on the level of the Real World construction.

When we take referent (dis-)continuity for example, the referent of the NP that performs the function of subject of a conjunct participle while also performing a syntactic function in the matrix clause, is predictably a continuous Discourse Topic; in the case of, for instance, the large number of clause chaining participles in the nominative case found in extant texts, the reader/hearer needs little reference to the participant who performs the action, as he/she is a continuous topic;

cross-referencing the subject on the verb by (nominal) inflection will suffice. The genitive absolute, which is less strongly desententialized than the conjunct participle as the NP that performs the function of subject is an element that is not shared with the matrix clause, offers the opportunity of indicating small-scale referent discontinuity in an otherwise (thematically) continuous event sequence. In the case of the finite subclause—the least strongly desententialized clause type of the three—, verbal agreement provides the speaker with an opportunity to refer to a participant in the case of referent discontinuity, or to track a participant in a situation of discontinuity of one of the other coherence strands.

Thus, the extent to which a subordinate clause is desententialized corresponds inversely to the extent to which (thematic) discontinuity is marked linguistically. See figure 4:

*Figure 4: Continuum of Discontinuity at Points of Segmentation and Preposed, Sentence-initially Placed Subordinate Clauses*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| LOW | *Degree of Discontinuity* | HIGH |
| <———————— | ———————— | ————————> |
| LOW | *Degree of Linguistic Coding* | HIGH |
| <———————— | ———————— | ————————> |
| HIGH | *Degree of Desententialization* | LOW |
| <———————— | ———————— | ————————> |
| Conjunct Participle | Genitive Absolute | Subclause |

The proposed correspondence between the formal characteristics of a certain clause and its function in discourse as reflected in figure 4 helps to answer the question why different clause types so often regarded as 'alternatives' coexist in the Ancient Greek language.

## 4 *(Dis-)Continuity at Points of Segmentation*

The interrelatedness of form and function of different types of preposed subordinate clauses will be further demonstrated on the basis of the following examples in which they are used at points of

segmentation. To start with, consider a quotation in which different clause types are found in the same context:

[5] *Hellenica* 3.4.29-3.5.1 & 3.5.25-4.1.3
ὁ δ᾽ Ἀγησίλαος, ὥσπερ ὥρμησεν, ἐπὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἐπορεύετο. ὁ μέντοι Τιθραύστης (…) πέμπει Τιμοκράτην τὸν Ῥόδιον εἰς Ἑλλάδα, δοὺς χρυσίον εἰς πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ἀργυρίου, καὶ κελεύει πειρᾶσθαι πιστὰ τὰ μέγιστα λαμβάνοντα διδόναι τοῖς προεστηκόσιν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐφ᾽ ᾧτε πόλεμον ἐξοίσειν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους.
(…)
κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ταῦτ᾽ ἐπράχθη.

(BU 1; DU 1) ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος **ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο ἅμα μετοπώρῳ εἰς τὴν τοῦ Φαρναβάζου Φρυγίαν**, τὴν μὲν χώραν ἔκαε καὶ ἐπόρθει, πόλεις δὲ τὰς μὲν βίᾳ, τὰς δ᾽ ἑκούσας προσελάμβανε. (DU 2) **λέγοντος δὲ τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου** ὡς εἰ ἔλθοι πρὸς τὴν Παφλαγονίαν σὺν αὐτῷ, τὸν τῶν Παφλαγόνων βασιλέα καὶ εἰς λόγους ἄξοι καὶ σύμμαχον ποιήσοι, προθύμως ἐπορεύετο, πάλαι τούτου ἐπιθυμῶν, τοῦ ἀφιστάναι τι ἔθνος ἀπὸ βασιλέως.

(BU 2; DU 3) **ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Παφλαγονίαν**, ἦλθεν Ὄτυς καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσατο· καὶ γὰρ καλούμενος ὑπὸ βασιλέως οὐκ ἀνεβεβήκει. (DU 4) **πείσαντος δὲ τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου** κατέλιπε τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ Ὄτυς χιλίους μὲν ἱππέας, δισχιλίους δὲ πελταστάς.

Agesilaus continued the march to Phrygia on which he had set out. But now Tithraustes (…) sent Timocrates the Rhodian to Greece, giving him gold to the value of fifty talents of silver, and bade him undertake, on receipt of the surest pledges, to give this money to the leaders in the various states on condition that they should make war upon the Lacedaemonians.
(…)
These, then, were the events which took place in Greece.

As for Agesilaus, **when he arrived, at the beginning of autumn, in Pharnabazus' province of Phrygia**, he laid the land waste with fire and sword and gained possession of cities, some by force, others by their voluntary surrender. **Spithridates said** that if he would come to Paphlagonia with him, he would bring the king of the Paphlagonians to a conference and make him an ally, and <so> Agesilaus eagerly undertook the journey—this was a thing he had long desired: to win some nation away from the Persian King.

**When he arrived in Paphlagonia**, Otys came and concluded an alliance; for he had been summoned by the Persian King and had refused to go up to him. **By the persuasion of Spithridates**, Otys left behind for Agesilaus a thousand horsemen and two thousand peltasts.

In [5], at the end of what later became the third book of the *Hellenica*, a thematic unit on what happened with the gold of Tithraustes is

brought to an end by the closing-line *κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη*. At this point, a new narrative sequence is started (note also transition marking *μὲν οὖν ... δέ*). The text continues with a reference to the new topic, *ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος*, and a subclause. If we were looking for the last reference to this participant, we would have to go back as far as 3.4.29, where Agesilaus is left on his way to Phrygia (*ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος, ὥσπερ ὥρμησεν, ἐπὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἐπορεύετο*); the imperfect *ἐπορεύετο* there at least creates the expectation that more information concerning Agesilaus's march will be conveyed in the sequel. This does not happen immediately; the narrative line concerning Agesilaus is left open-ended, and a new narrative line is started with *ὁ μέντοι Τιθραύστης*. After about 6 pages OCT, the end of the narrative line concerning what happened in Greece with the gold of Tithraustes is marked by a closing-line, and the account of Agesilaus's march is finally continued. The fact is that parallel actions at different locations cannot be narrated simultaneously. Therefore, it is not the start of a new narrative sequence we have here; an existing, but temporarily abandoned story-line is taken up.

The *ἐπεί*-clause performs different functions at the same time. Most importantly, there is a coherence link between *ἐπὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἐπορεύετο* and *ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο ἅμα μετοπώρῳ εἰς τὴν τοῦ Φαρναβάζου Φρυγίαν*: logically, there is action continuity: Agesilaus marched to Phrygia and then he arrived in Phrygia. This more global coherence link provides the *ἐπεί*-clause with anaphoric grounding.[16] The most eye-catching feature of the subclause is its large anaphoric *scope:* about 6 pages OCT.

Further, there is a break in the spatial continuity, both with respect to the immediately preceding context (Greece → Phrygia) and with respect to the Agesilaus-story-line (march to Phrygia → arrival in Phrygia); the subclause introduces a new spatial setting as a frame of reference for the events to come. The adverbial *ἅμα μετοπώρῳ* inside the subclause provides a temporal (re-)orientation with respect to the high-level segmentation of the *Hellenica* into successive seasons (cf. 3.4.16 *ἐπειδὴ ἔαρ ὑπέφαινε*). We thus have a continuative subclause serving the function of thematic (spatial + 'temporal') segmentation.

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[16] See Givón, 1993 II: 311.

The first genitive absolute (λέγοντος δὲ τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου ...) is progressive: it introduces entirely new information into the discourse at the onset of a new DU (note δέ), but the textual boundary does not reflect any thematic discontinuity: when the new DU starts, the location is still Phrygia, Spithridates is known as an informer in Persian affairs from 3.4.10 (note the article), and the discourse remains concerned with the actions performed by Agesilaus (note that he is the subject of ἔλθοι and especially of the finite main verb ἐπορεύετο without further reference), and there is no sign of temporal (re-)organization: the genitive absolute is used at a textual boundary that does *not* coincide with a thematic boundary; it contains new information of local relevance, at the beginning of a DU that is part of a larger, thematically continuous structure.

Since it is expressed that Agesilaus travelled eagerly to Paphlagonia (εἰ ἔλθοι πρὸς τὴν Παφλαγονίαν ... προθύμως ἐπορεύετο), the information contained in the second ἐπεί-clause (ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Παφλαγονίαν) is contextually prepared. Again, we find that a lower information status coincides with a greater text-organizational function, for not only is there spatial discontinuity, there is also a change in the cast of participants inasmuch as Otys is introduced into the narrative. Now that there is thematic discontinuity, and both the text *and* the story need to be (re-)organized, we find a subclause again.

The fourth and final DU of the passage cited once more starts with a genitive absolute: πείσαντος δὲ τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου. In the left sentence margin, reference is made to the afore-mentioned Spithridates, who continues to play his role as Agesilaus's right-hand man, while the discourse remains concerned with Otys and Agesilaus. By means of the (entirely new) information contained in the genitive absolute we simply learn that Otys acted 'by the persuation of Spithridates'; the genitive absolute is used at a textual boundary while the narrative is thematically continuous.

All in all we may conclude that in the four DU's of this passage, all preposed subordinate clauses are used at a point where one text segment is marked off from the other by δέ, but that the thematic caesurae coincide with the usage of the subclauses, and that the genitives absolute are used at the onset of a sub-section within a larger thematic structure. In this case, the subclauses contain contextually-prepared information, whereas the genitives absolute contain entirely new information. I recall, however, that it is not the information status

of a given subordinate clause *per se* that is decisive for the type of discourse function performed, although subclauses with a low information status seem to owe their presence predominantly to the function they perform in thematic segmentation.[17] However that may be, the passage should, I think, be analysed as follows: twice there is a moment where the spatial setting is altered. In its *context*, it is the appropriate point for thematic segmentation, precisely because the spatial change has been prepared. Hence a subclause is used at such a point.

The speaker's decision on how to encode linguistically a point of segmentation in the discourse is dependent on the way he wishes to organize reality in the form of text. When the speaker wishes to organize reality and therewith his discourse in phases, the linguistic articulation of the segmentation of the text into these phases is linked to the reality structure that is verbalized in terms of (dis-)continuity of referents, time, place, and/or action sequence. Eventually, the choice among different clause types turns out to be determined by the speaker's decision on presentation of Real World data in narrative text.

### 4.1 *Thematic Coherence*

Still, thematic coherence is an elusive notion. Two clauses may be coherent because they share the same referent, because they describe actions that were performed on (more or less) the same location or in the same period of time as set off from a different time interval, or contain events quite naturally perceived as belonging somehow together on the basis of one's knowledge of the world. And yet, as part of a larger piece of discourse, they may turn out to belong to what one would rather categorize as different thematic units in view of the discourse as a whole. In the following example in English:

> Pharnabazus decided that the woman should be satrap. She became mistress of the province.

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[17] Note, however, that participial clauses with low information status as such need not coincide with thematic boundaries—see, e.g. the continuative participial clause ἐλθὼν δ' in [20] and the resumptive participial clause ἀριστοποιουμένων δὲ αὐτῶν in [12] below.

the two clauses are perfectly coherent: there is a referential link between them (the woman ↔ she), there is action-event coherence (decision ↔ effectuation), time is contiguous (decision *and subsequent* effectuation) and the clauses are about the same location (satrap/mistress of the same province)—yet recall from Section 2.1 that in the story of Mania, the second clause was realized as an ἐπεί-clause (… ὁ Φαρνάβαζος ἔγνω δεῖν τὴν γυναῖκα σατραπεύειν. ἡ δ' ἐπεὶ κυρία τῆς χώρας ἐγένετο …), and that within the framework of the whole story, ἡ δ' ἐπεὶ κυρία τῆς χώρας ἐγένετο was analysed as the onset not only of a new DU, but also, partly due to the narrator changing his mode of discourse, of an embedded paragraph.

The form a certain statement takes, is, I contend, entirely dependent on how the speaker wants to package his message. Any sequence of independent clauses may be given texture, or relief, by different linguistic means in order to indicate interclausal connections or relations, or, more globally, discourse connectedness. Consider the following narrative sequence:

1. The Greeks had not yet gone fifteen stadia.
2. They began to meet with dead bodies.
3. They brought the rear of their column to a point opposite the first bodies that appeared.
4. They buried all that the column covered.
5. They buried this first group.
6. They marched forward.
7. They again brought the rear of the column into line with the first of the bodies which lay further on.
8. They buried all that the army covered in the same way as before.
9. They reached the road leading out of the villages.
10. There the dead lay thick.
11. They gathered them all together.
12. They buried them.

This sequence of twelve independent clauses may be regarded as a thematic unit: all clauses with the exception of 10 have the same sentence-topic, introduced in the first sentence ('The Greeks') and referred back to by 'they'. The sequence shows action coherence in that the theme, or Discourse-topic, of this action sequence is 'burying corpses'. There is no Real Time indication, but the events expressed in the narrative clauses are contiguous: from the first narrative clause (2) onwards, narrative time is propelled forward in the clauses 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, and 12. Finally, no major spatial break is articulated: all

events take place on the road the Greeks follow, except that in clause 9 the current spatial setting is specified. Clause 1, 5, and 10 contain non-sequentially ordered events: clause 1 is introductory, clause 10 presents a durative action and is backgrounded to the narrative clause 11; clause 5, which is a bit odd, restates the information conveyed in clause 4, adding only that this was the *first* group, so that the expectation is raised that the following discourse will be about a second group of dead bodies.

In *Anabasis* 6.5.5-6, Xenophon has decided to present the sequence as follows:

1. *πρὶν δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια διεληλυθέναι*
2. *ἐνέτυχον ἤδη νεκροῖς*
3. *καὶ τὴν οὐρὰν τοῦ κέρατος ποιησάμενοι κατὰ τοὺς πρώτους φανέντας νεκροὺς*
4. *ἔθαπτον πάντας ὁπόσους ἐπελάμβανε τὸ κέρας*
5. *ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς πρώτους ἔθαψαν*
6. *προαγαγόντες*
7. *καὶ τὴν οὐρὰν αὖθις ποιησάμενοι κατὰ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν ἀτάφων*
8. *ἔθαπτον τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὁπόσους ἐπελάμβανεν ἡ στρατιά*
9. *ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ἧκον τὴν ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν*
10. *ἔνθα ἔκειντο ἀθρόοι*
11. *συνενεγκόντες*
12. *αὐτοὺς ἔθαψαν*

The narrative clauses in this passage are expressed by three different clause types: finite main clauses with aorist (2: ***ἐνέτυχον***; 12: ***ἔθαψαν***) or present stem verbal constituents (4: ***ἔθαπτον***; 8: ***ἔθαπτον***), aorist stem conjunct participles (3: ***ποιησάμενοι***; 6: ***προαγαγόντες***; 7: ***ποιησάμενοι***; 11: ***συνενεγκόντες***), or an ***ἐπεί***-clause (9); the non-sequential events are packaged in a ***πρίν*** + infinitive clause (1), an ***ἐπεί***-clause (5), and a relative clause (10).

The passage consists of three DU's, starting at clause 1, 5, and 9. Within the first DU, the finite main clauses 2 and 4 are connected by ***καί***, while in the second DU the narrative participial clauses are connected by ***καί***. The three DU's correspond to three different phases in this passage.

The first DU is concerned with burying corpses the Greeks found on their way, especially with the way in which this was done. The first sentence of this DU (***πρὶν δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια διεληλυθέναι ἐνέτυχον ἤδη νεκροῖς***) introduces the first group of corpses they

found. The second sentence, which elaborates on the first one (note *καί*) describes what they did with these corpses: they marched on until they had brought the rear of their column to a point opposite the first bodies which appeared, and buried all that the column covered. The second DU presents the next phase; the bodies which lay farther on were buried in the same way. The third phase is presented in the third DU; at the point where the bodies lay thick, they gathered them all together for burial.

The thematic continuity of this sequence is reflected by the distribution of the aspectual forms describing the act of burying over the main verbs of each DU (*ἔθαπτον … ἔθαπτον … ἔθαψαν*). The imperfects indicate that there is more to come in connection with the verbal action of burying corpses in this sequence, while the final aorist formally closes off the sequence.

The three different clause types each contribute in their own specific manner to the articulation of the narrative sequence. Following the finite main verbs of the independent clauses over the three DU's (*δέ … ἐνέτυχον … καί … ἔθαπτον … δέ … ἔθαπτον … δέ … ἔθαψαν*), we have the backbone of this narrative sequence. Then, when we put in the participial clauses (*ποιησάμενοι*; *προαγαγόντες … καί … ποιησάμενοι*; *συνενεγκόντες*)—narrative clauses too, albeit on a lower hierarchical level—we get some 'flesh to the bone', so to speak: we learn *how* they buried the corpses. The distribution of finite main clauses, participial clauses and particles, then, is indicative of how Xenophon wished to articulate the text. Finally, the two *ἐπεί*-clauses take care of the Real World construction of the passage: at the onset of the second and third DU, they make for segmentation within the sequence, at points where a new phase in the description of the Real World situation starts.

Clause 5, the one that seems to be slightly odd in the English sequence as presented above, provides an example of 'linkage'. It is a resumptive subclause; by restating[18] the content of the preceding main clause, adding that this was the first set of corpses they buried, it makes a previously described Real World situation the frame of reference for the upcoming discourse. By virtue of its anaphoric link,

[18] In the subclause an aorist finite verb is used, since *qua* restatement the verbal action is a self-contained statement.

it functions as a (thematic) hinge between two adjacent sub-sections of one and the same thematic unit.

It is noteworthy that Thompson and Longacre report (1985: 212) that the sort of back-reference we encounter here in the case of clause 5 is

> the standard linkage in narrative and procedural languages in a typical Philippine language. The units so linked are sentences or embedded paragraphs. Instances involving the latter are a more complex variation of relatively simpler structures of the sort illustrated here in which each successive 'build-up' of the paragraph is a separate sentence which carries forward the event line. In such simpler structures sentence$_j$ has an initial time clause or a time phrase that is a back-reference to sentence$_i$—much as described as tail-head linkage (…). Such a structure could be either narrative or procedural and might better be termed somewhat more neutrally a SEQUENCE PARAGRAPH.[19]

As our thematic sequence is a narrative sequence with a strong procedural touch to it (i.e. the passage also addresses the question of how the bodies were buried), clause 5 in the passage under consideration may be said to illustrate the kind of phenomenon described by Thompson and Longacre, given that it is a resumptive clause.

The ἐπεί-clause 9 is not resumptive, but a progressive, and a narrative clause; however, by introducing a new phase in the description of the Real World, this clause, too, helps to articulate the boundary between two sub-sections of the sequence paragraph on the level of the Real World construction.

## 4.2 *The Articulation of Thematic Units*

The articulation of a new phase in the depicted world may, under certain conditions, occur within an episode that, as a whole, shows thematic unity. Generally, however, the articulation of a break in the continuity of the depicted world takes place at a boundary between two separate thematic units. Here is an example:

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[19] They also report (*ibid.*, 213) that "back-reference of this sort is endemic for many Philippine languages" and that "such regularity of back-reference is also characteristic of many structures in New Guinea".

[6] *Anabasis* 1.1.1-3
*Δαρείου καὶ* Παρυσάτιδος *γίγνονται παῖδες δύο, πρεσβύτερος μὲν* Ἀρταξέρξης, *νεώτερος δὲ* Κῦρος·

[A] ***ἐπεὶ δὲ ἠσθένει Δαρεῖος καὶ ὑπώπτευε τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου***, *ἐβούλετο τὼ παῖδε ἀμφοτέρω παρεῖναι. ὁ μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτερος παρὼν ἐτύγχανε·* Κῦρον *δὲ μεταπέμπεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἧς αὐτὸν σατράπην ἐποίησε, καὶ στρατηγὸν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε πάντων ὅσοι ἐς* Καστωλοῦ *πεδίον ἀθροίζονται. ἀναβαίνει οὖν ὁ* Κῦρος *λαβὼν* Τισσαφέρνην *ὡς φίλον, καὶ τῶν* Ἑλλήνων *ἔχων ὁπλίτας ἀνέβη τριακοσίους, ἄρχοντα δὲ αὐτῶν Ξενίαν* Παρράσιον.

[B] ***ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτελεύτησε Δαρεῖος καὶ κατέστη εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀρταξέρξης***, Τισσαφέρνης *διαβάλλει τὸν* Κῦρον *πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοι αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ πείθεται καὶ συλλαμβάνει* Κῦρον *ὡς ἀποκτενῶν· ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ἐξαιτησαμένη αὐτὸν ἀποπέμπει πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν.*

Darius and Parysatis had two sons born to them, of whom the elder was Artaxerxes and the younger Cyrus.

**When Darius lay sick and suspected that the end of his life was near**, he wished to have both his sons with him. The elder happened to be with him already; but Cyrus he summoned from the province over which he had made him satrap, and he had also appointed him commander of all the forces that muster in the plain of Castolus. Cyrus accordingly went up to his father, taking with him Tissaphernes as a friend and accompanied by three hundred Greek hoplites, under the command of Xenias of Parrhasia.

**When Darius had died and Artaxerxes had been established as king**, Tissaphernes falsely accused Cyrus to his brother of plotting against him. He believed the accusation and arrested Cyrus, with the intention of putting him to death; his mother made intercession for him, and sent him back again to his province.

Example [6] presents, of course, the beginning of the *Anabasis*: the first sentence is devoted to the introduction of major participants; since it is the first sentence of the work, the present indicative *γίγνονται* is properly speaking without time reference. The subclause *ἐπεὶ δὲ ἠσθένει Δαρεῖος καὶ ὑπώπτευε τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου* does several things at the same time: it introduces the first time reference (*ἠσθένει … καὶ ὑπώπτευε*: past tenses); moreover, it introduces the first theme of the narrative: Darius' illness. The content of the subclause is not presented as a narrative statement of its own; by virtue of the verbal constituents being imperfects, it is to be understood in connection with the verbal action of the matrix clause: 'In view of the fact that *he lay sick and suspected that the end of his life was near*, *Darius wished to have both*

*his sons with him*'. Then, for several sentences, the sequence is organized around its participants: *ὁ μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτερος παρὼν ἐτύγχανε* ... *Κῦρον δὲ μεταπέμπεται* ... *ἀναβαίνει οὖν ὁ Κῦρος*. The *thematic setting* remains the same, inasmuch as any thematic break defined in terms of discontinuity of participants, time, place and/or action-sequence is absent.

Then, with the subclause *ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτελεύτησε Δαρεῖος καὶ κατέστη εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀρταξέρξης*, there is discourse turbulence. The old theme is no longer current, and the thematic setting changes: Darius disappears from the stage, as he dies, and Artaxerxes is established as the new king. This time, aorist stems are used in the subclause inasmuch as the subordinated verbal action belongs to the narrative assertion.

From the point of view of discourse organization, the two *ἐπεί*-clauses marked [A] and [B] are used for thematic segmentation *between* thematic structures. After the introductory first sentence, subclause [A] opens a thematic unit about what happened when Darius lay sick and expected that the end of his life was near. The second thematic unit is about the events that occurred after Darius had died and Artaxerxes had succeeded him to the throne. Subclause [B] creates a content-oriented boundary between the unit concerned with the old king about to die, and the unit about events after the old king had been succeeded naturally by the elder son Artaxerxes. At the same time, subclause [B] makes for discourse coherence by continuing the chain of events initiated by subclause [A]: (*ἐπεὶ δέ*) *ἐτελεύτησε Δαρεῖος καὶ κατέστη εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀρταξέρξης* follows naturally on (*ἐπεὶ δέ*) *ἠσθένει Δαρεῖος καὶ ὑπώπτευε τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου*: a discourse-level strategy known as Head-Head linkage (see Thompson & Longacre, 1985: 211).

These boundaries are articulated by means of preposed, sentence-initially placed subclauses, as the segmentation of the text coincides with a moment of discontinuity in the Real World.

In the following example the text is segmented at a point where a new participant is introduced, while there is thematic discontinuity with respect to time and place; here, first a finite main clause[20] is used,

[20] The reader is reminded of the end of the episode in the *Agesilaus* on Agesilaus's activities in Asia (Chapter 2, Section 4). This involves a major relocation and therefore a thematic break because of the spatial discontinuity in the Real World situation described, and it is heavily marked by a finite main clause (1.38): the closing-

but then the content of this main clause is resumed later on in a (still only weakly desententialized) subclause:

[7] *Hellenica* 6.1.1-3
*οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περὶ ταῦτα ἦσαν. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἐπεὶ κατεστρέψαντο τὰς ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ πόλεις, ἐστράτευον καὶ εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα. ὡς δ' αὖ καὶ οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐπρέσβευον εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι εἰ μὴ βοηθήσοιεν, οὐ δυνήσοιντο μὴ πείθεσθαι τοῖς Θηβαίοις, ἐκ τούτου οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι διαβιβάζουσι κατὰ θάλατταν εἰς Φωκέας Κλεόμβροτόν τε τὸν βασιλέα καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ τέτταρας μόρας καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τὸ μέρος.*
*σχεδὸν δὲ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ ἐκ Θετταλίας* ***ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων Πολυδάμας Φαρσάλιος****. οὗτος δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Θετταλίᾳ μάλα ηὐδοκίμει, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει οὕτως ἐδόκει καλός τε κἀγαθὸς εἶναι ὥστε καὶ στασιάσαντες οἱ Φαρσάλιοι παρακατέθεντο αὐτῷ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ τὰς προσόδους ἐπέτρεψαν λαμβάνοντι, ὅσα ἐγέγραπτο ἐν τοῖς νόμοις, εἴς τε τὰ ἱερὰ ἀναλίσκειν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην διοίκησιν. κἀκεῖνος μέντοι ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων τήν τε ἄκραν φυλάττων διέσῳζεν αὐτοῖς καὶ τἆλλα διοικῶν ἀπελογίζετο κατ' ἐνιαυτόν. καὶ ὁπότε μὲν ἐνδεήσειε, παρ' ἑαυτοῦ προσετίθει, ὁπότε δὲ περιγένοιτο τῆς προσόδου, ἀπελάμβανεν. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἄλλως φιλόξενός τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὴς τὸν Θετταλικὸν τρόπον. οὗτος οὖν* ***ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα****, εἶπε τοιάδε.*

The Athenians and Lacedaemonians, then, were occupied with these things. As for the Thebans, when they had subdued the cities in Boeotia, made an expedition into Phocis also. The Phocians, on their side, sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon and said that unless the Lacedaemonians came to their assistance they would not be able to escape yielding to the Thebans, and thereupon the Lacedaemonians sent Cleombrotus, the king, across to Phocis by sea, and with him four regiments of their own and the corresponding contingents of the allies.

At about this time **Polydamas of Pharsalus** also **arrived** from Thessaly **and presented himself before the general assembly of the Lacedaemonians**. This man was not only held in very high repute throughout all Thessaly, but in his own city was regarded as so honourable a man that, on their falling into factional strife, the Pharsalians put their Acropolis in his hands and entrusted to him the duty of receiving the revenues, and of expending, both for religious purposes and for the administration in general, all the sums which were prescribed in their laws. And he did, in fact, use these funds to guard the Acropolis and keep it safe for them, and likewise to administer their

line *τῶν μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πράξεων τοῦτο τέλος ἐγένετο* ('This then was the end of his activities in Asia').

> other affairs, rendering them an account yearly. And whenever there was a deficit he made it up from his own private purse, and whenever there was a surplus of revenue he paid himself back. Besides, he was hospitable and magnificent, after the Thessalian manner. Now this man, **when he had arrived at Lacedaemon**, spoke as follows: …

The subclause contains a restatement of previously expressed information by means of lexical overlap after an intervening, obviously informationally backgrounded and rather long passage. From *σχεδὸν δὲ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον* onwards, only two verbal constituents describe actions that belong to the main narrative line, *viz.*, *ἀφικνεῖται* [$A_1$] and *εἶπε* [$A_2$]; cf. figure 5:

*Figure 5:* Hellenica *6.1.2-3*

*σχεδὸν δὲ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ ἐκ Θετταλίας*

$A_1$ ***ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων***

**Πολυδάμας Φαρσάλιος.**

***οὗτος δὲ*** *καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Θετταλίᾳ μάλα ηὐδοκίμει, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει οὕτως ἐδόκει καλός τε κἀγαθὸς εἶναι ὥστε καὶ στασιάσαντες οἱ Φαρσάλιοι παρακατέθεντο αὐτῷ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ τὰς προσόδους ἐπέτρεψαν λαμβάνοντι, ὅσα ἐγέγραπτο ἐν τοῖς νόμοις, εἴς τε τὰ ἱερὰ ἀναλίσκειν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην διοίκησιν. κἀκεῖνος μέντοι ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων τήν τε ἄκραν φυλάττων διέσῳζεν αὐτοῖς καὶ τἆλλα διοικῶν ἀπελογίζετο κατ᾽ ἐνιαυτόν. καὶ ὁπότε μὲν ἐνδεήσειε, παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ προσετίθει, ὁπότε δὲ περιγένοιτο τῆς προσόδου, ἀπελάμβανεν. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἄλλως φιλόξενός τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὴς τὸν Θετταλικὸν τρόπον.*

***οὗτος οὖν ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα,***

$A_2$ ***εἶπε*** *τοιάδε.*

In between these actions there are four sentences that convey background information concerning the discourse participant Polydamas, introduced for the first time and therefore the *focus* of the

introductory sentence—note that his name occupies the sentence-final position—, who becomes the topic of the backgrounded passage (οὗτος δέ). The main verbs of these four backgrounded sentences are imperfects. The return to the main narrative line is marked in three ways. Firstly, Xenophon repeats the pronoun οὗτος at the immediate beginning of the sentence. Secondly, he uses the particle οὖν, which marks the preceding as introductory to the point the author finally wanted to make, *viz.*, Polydamas's statement [εἶπε: $A_2$]. Thirdly, we find a subclause, with verbal repetition of $A_1$. The subclause obviously is there to create coherence between the different parts of this episode.

The subclause ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα is a back-reference to the phrase ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων—note that back-reference need not be an exact semantic reproduction of the original material, but may involve loss or gain of information; a case in point is provided by the difference between πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων and εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα: in the independent main clause it is stated that Polydamas presented himself before the general assembly of the Lacedaemonians, so that $A_2$: εἶπε has already been prepared. The resumed information itself forms the start of a new sequence paragraph; there is thematic discontinuity with respect to participants (Πολυδάμας Φαρσάλιος is introduced into the discourse after the Lacedaemonians were dealing with Phocian ambassadors in 6.1.1, hence καί in the first sentence of this episode) and time (σχεδὸν … περὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον); perhaps the use of the historical present is also indicative of a boundary between two larger thematic structures.[21] The resumptive subclause, as it were, recapitulates the thematic boundary already expressed by a main finite clause, and the new sequence paragraph is re-started after Polydamas has been properly introduced. All in all, the high degree of thematic discontinuity at the point of segmentation between two larger thematic structures is reflected by the high degree of linguistic coding: a finite main clause expressing the new Real World situation the discourse will be concerned with, the content of which is referred back to in a—only weakly desententialized—subclause that, at the same

[21] Cf. for instance *Hellenica* 3.1.16: ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἀφικνεῖται … ('It was at this juncture that Dercylidas arrived…'), which follows on the final sentence of the story of Mania proper, presented in figure 1 above.

time, helps the reader keep track of the discourse perspective after a digression.

### 4.2.1 *Temporal Discontinuity*

In example [7] of the preceding Section, the discourse is discontinuous with respect to several coherence strands at the same time at a point where the narrator decided to use the finite main clause, the content of which is referred back to later on in a subclause. A subclause seems to be preferred over its alternative—a conjunct[22] participle—as the recapitulated verbal action should remind the reader/hearer of the entire discontinuity-marking finite main clause the sequence started with, so that here the high degree of linguistic coding helps the reader to take notice of the rather deep incision or discourse boundary. However, not every coherence strand need be involved at the same time: a discourse boundary may be articulated by a high degree of linguistic coding when there is discontinuity with respect to a single coherence strand, but to a fairly high degree. Here is an example:

> [8] *Anabasis* 5.3.4-7
> *ἐνταῦθα καὶ διαλαμβάνουσι τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀργύριον γενόμενον. καὶ τὴν δεκάτην, ἣν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐξεῖλον καὶ τῇ Ἐφεσίᾳ Ἀρτέμιδι, διέλαβον οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὸ μέρος ἕκαστος φυλάττειν τοῖς θεοῖς· ἀντὶ δὲ Χειρισόφου Νέων ὁ Ἀσιναῖος ἔλαβε. Ξενοφῶν οὖν τὸ μὲν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀνάθημα ποιησάμενος ἀνατίθησιν εἰς τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων θησαυρὸν καὶ ἐπέγραψε τό τε αὑτοῦ ὄνομα καὶ τὸ Προξένου, ὃς σὺν Κλεάρχῳ ἀπέθανεν· ξένος γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ. τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἐφεσίας, ὅτ' ἀπῄει σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν εἰς Βοιωτοὺς ὁδόν, καταλείπει παρὰ Μεγαβύζῳ τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος νεωκόρῳ, ὅτι αὐτὸς κινδυνεύσων ἐδόκει ἰέναι, καὶ ἐπέστειλεν, ἢν μὲν αὐτὸς σωθῇ, αὑτῷ ἀποδοῦναι· ἢν δέ τι πάθῃ, ἀναθεῖναι ποιησάμενον τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ὅ τι οἴοιτο χαριεῖσθαι τῇ θεῷ.*
> ***ἐπειδὴ δ' ἔφευγεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν**, κατοικοῦντος ἤδη αὐτοῦ ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οἰκισθέντος παρὰ τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν ἀφικνεῖται Μεγάβυζος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν θεωρήσων καὶ ἀποδίδωσι τὴν παρακαταθήκην αὐτῷ. Ξενοφῶν δὲ λαβὼν χωρίον ὠνεῖται τῇ θεῷ ὅπου ἀνεῖλεν ὁ θεός.*

[22] Note that a genitive absolute would have been an a-typical alternative here, as the clauses in the clause combination share the same subject: *οὗτος ... ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο ... εἶπε.*

> There, also, they divided the money received from the sale of the booty. And the tithe, which they set apart for Apollo and for Artemis of the Ephesians, was distributed among the generals, each taking his portion to keep safely for the gods; and the portion that fell to Cheirisophus was given to Neon the Asinaean.
> As for Xenophon, he caused a votive offering to be made out of Apollo's share of his portion and dedicated it in the treasury of the Athenians at Delphi, inscribing upon it his own name and that of Proxenus, who was killed with Clearchus; for Proxenus was his guest-friend. The share which belonged to Artemis of the Ephesians he left behind, at the time when he was returning from Asia with Agesilaus to take part in the campaign against Boeotia, in charge of Megabyzus, the sacristan of Artemis, for the reason that his own journey seemed likely to be a dangerous one; and his instructions were that in case he should escape with his life, the money was to be returned to him, but in case any ill should befall him, Megabyzus was to cause to be made and dedicated to Artemis whatever offering he thought would please the goddess.
> **In the course of Xenophon's exile**—he was living at Scillus, near Olympia, where he had been established as a colonist by the Lacedaemonians—, Megabyzus came to Olympia to attend the games and returned to him his deposit. Upon receiving it Xenophon bought a plot of ground for the goddess in a place which Apollo's oracle appointed.

From *Ξενοφῶν οὖν* onwards, the narrator dedicates a discourse episode to the way Xenophon dealt with his portion. Stepping outside the diegetic world of the *Anabasis*, he informs the reader/hearer about events that would take place at a later moment in time—cf. especially the semantically specific (temporal) subclause *ὅτ᾽ ἀπῄει σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν εἰς Βοιωτοὺς ὁδόν*. The narrator continues the episode on the share which belonged to Artemis of the Ephesians that was left behind at the time in charge of Megabyzus: Megabyzus returned it when he came to Olympia to attend the games. A new situational setting for the return of the deposit is introduced by means of embedded predications placed at the beginning of the sentence (*ἐπειδὴ δ᾽ ἔφευγεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν, κατοικοῦντος ἤδη αὐτοῦ ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οἰκισθέντος παρὰ τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν*): it was in the course of Xenophon's exile (the information is marked as something the reader/hearer will be familiar with: *ἐπειδή*), and he had been living for a while (*ἤδη*) at Scillus, which is located near Olympia (*παρὰ τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν*). The whole set of embedded predications is rather

detached from the main clause: Xenophon is the subject of the ἐπειδή-clause, then becomes the grammatical subject of two genitive absolute constructions, to finally become the dative complement to the last part of the main clause (ἀποδίδωσι ... αὐτῷ). The preposed, sentence-initially placed subclause ἐπειδὴ δ' ἔφευγεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν articulates a thematic boundary, for it moves the discourse forward to a new stage over a time-gap of several years.[23] Within the multi-propositional paragraph, the subclause is used at the point where narrative time is non-contiguous.

### 4.2.2 *Spatial Discontinuity*

The following example shows three instances of a preposed subclause with an aorist verbal constituent used at a point of 'spatial' discontinuity. It illustrates the usage of preposed subclauses as a means of phasing the story into smaller segments that have a thematic unity of their own. Within the organization of the story, the relocation of a participant (Agesilaus) is taken several times as the appropriate starting point for a new thematic unit ('paragraph'). The example further has a preposed aorist participle of spatial movement at a point where articulating a thematic boundary would have been inexpedient, as will be clarified in the discussion:

[9] *Hellenica* 3.4.2-5
ἀνεπτερωμένων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους συναγόντων καὶ βουλευομένων τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, Λύσανδρος νομίζων καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ πολὺ περιέσεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ τὸ πεζὸν λογιζόμενος ὡς ἐσώθη τὸ μετὰ Κύρου ἀναβάν, πείθει τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὑποστῆναι, ἂν αὐτῷ δῶσι τριάκοντα μὲν Σπαρτιατῶν, εἰς δισχιλίους δὲ τῶν νεοδαμώδων, εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους δὲ τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν συμμάχων, στρατεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ αὐτὸς συνεξελθεῖν αὐτῷ ἐβούλετο, ὅπως τὰς δεκαρχίας τὰς κατασταθείσας ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἐκπεπτωκυίας δὲ διὰ

[23] In fact, whatever the date of Xenophon's dedication of the votive offering made out of Apollo's share of his portion in the treasury of the Athenians at Delphi (for problems concerning its dating, see Lendle, *comm. ad loc.*), when we arrive at ἐπειδὴ δ' ἔφευγεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν, a couple of years must have passed since Xenophon ἀπῄει σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν εἰς Βοιωτοὺς ὁδόν, which is to be dated in the summer of 394 B.C; Megabyzus's arrival at Olympia 'in order to attend the games' "dürfte wohl während einer der ersten Olympiaden, die Xenophon in Skillus miterlebte (Ol. 98 = 388, Ol. 99 = 384) stattgefunden haben (vgl. die Formulierung κατοικοῦντος ἤδη αὐτοῦ...)" (Lendle, 1995: 316). Rehdantz/Carnuth, *comm. ad loc.*, date his arrival "wahrscheinl. 384 v. Chr.".

*τοὺς ἐφόρους, οἳ τὰς πατρίους πολιτείας παρήγγειλαν, πάλιν καταστήσειε μετ᾽ Ἀγησιλάου. ἐπαγγειλαμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου τὴν στρατείαν, διδόασί τε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅσαπερ ᾔτησε καὶ ἑξαμήνου σῖτον.*

***ἐπεὶ δὲ θυσάμενος ὅσα ἔδει καὶ τἆλλα καὶ τὰ διαβατήρια ἐξῆλθε***, *ταῖς μὲν πόλεσι διαπέμψας ἀγγέλους προεῖπεν ὅσους τε δέοι ἑκασταχόθεν πέμπεσθαι καὶ ὅπου παρεῖναι, αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἐβουλήθη ἐλθὼν θῦσαι ἐν Αὐλίδι, ἔνθαπερ ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων ὅτ᾽ εἰς Τροίαν ἔπλει ἐθύετο.*

***ὡς δ᾽ ἐκεῖ ἐγένετο***, *πυθόμενοι οἱ βοιώταρχοι ὅτι θύοι, πέμψαντες ἱππέας τοῦ τε λοιποῦ εἶπαν μὴ θύειν καὶ οἷς ἐνέτυχον ἱεροῖς τεθυμένοις διέρριψαν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ. ὁ δ᾽ ἐπιμαρτυράμενος τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ ὀργιζόμενος, ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη ἀπέπλει.* ***ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ Γεραστόν***, *καὶ συλλέξας ἐκεῖ ὅσον ἐδύνατο τοῦ στρατεύματος πλεῖστον, εἰς Ἔφεσον τὸν στόλον ἐποιεῖτο.*

***ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖσε ἀφίκετο***, *πρῶτον μὲν Τισσαφέρνης πέμψας ἤρετο αὐτὸν τίνος δεόμενος ἥκοι. ὁ δ᾽ εἶπεν αὐτονόμους καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις εἶναι, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν Ἑλλάδι. πρὸς ταῦτ᾽ εἶπεν ὁ Τισσαφέρνης·*

The Lacedaemonians were in a state of great excitement, and were gathering together their allies and taking counsel as to what they should do, when Lysander, thinking that the Greeks would be far superior on the sea, and reflecting that the land force which went up country with Cyrus had returned safely, persuaded Agesilaus to promise, in case the Lacedaemonians would give him thirty Spartiatae, two thousand emancipated Helots, and a contingent of six thousand of the allies, to make an expedition to Asia. Such were the motives which actuated Lysander, but, in addition, he wanted to make the expedition with Agesilaus on his own account also, in order that with the aid of Agesilaus he might re-establish the decarchies which had been set up by him in the cities, but had been overthrown through the ephors, who had issued a proclamation restoring to the cities their ancient form of government. Agesilaus offered to undertake the campaign, and the Lacedaemonians gave him everything he asked for and provisions for six months.

**When he had offered all the sacrifices which were required, including that at the frontier and had marched forth from the country**, he dispatched messengers to the various cities and announced how many men were to be sent from each city, and where they were to report; as for himself, he desired to go and offer sacrifice at Aulis, the place where Agamemnon had sacrificed at the time when he sailed to Troy.

**When he had come there**, the Boeotarchs, on learning that he was sacrificing, sent horsemen and bade him discontinue his sacrificing, and they threw from the altar the victims which they found already offered.

> Then Agesilaus, calling the gods to witness, and full of anger, embarked upon his trireme and sailed away. **He arrived at Gerastus** and collected there as large a part of his army as he could, and he directed his course to Ephesus.
>
> **When he had arrived there**, Tissaphernes at once sent and asked him with what intent he had come. He answered: "That the cities in Asia shall be independent, as are those in our part of Greece." In reply to this Tissaphernes said: …

Agesilaus, who becomes an active discourse participant at the end of the introductory sequence to this campaign, is the continuous topic of the episode, so this sequence is referentially continuous to a high degree, yet in terms of spatial continuity the picture is conspicuously different. Agesilaus's leaving Sparta, expressed in the preposed subclause *ἐπεὶ δὲ θυσάμενος ὅσα ἔδει καὶ τἆλλα καὶ τὰ διαβατήρια ἐξῆλθε*, is the first relocation that coincides with a thematic boundary: the subclause draws the line between the paragraph on the deliberations at Sparta and the onset of the expedition to Asia. Before going to Asia, Agesilaus first wants to offer sacrifice at Aulis.

His arriving in Aulis, and, subsequently, his arriving in Asia Minor, are presented in preposed subclauses that serve as a means of segmenting this narrative sequence thematically and organizing it in phases: the subclauses *ὡς δ' ἐκεῖ ἐγένετο* and *ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖσε ἀφίκετο* mark the onset of a new stage in the development of the account of the expedition to Asia. They make for thematic segmentation of the story in that every relocation effecting spatial discontinuity is expressed at the beginning of a new paragraph.

By following the paragraph-initial subclauses, we have Agesilaus's main relocations as the back-bone of the account of Real World events: he marched forth from Sparta, then he reached Aulis, a town on the eastern coast of Boeotia, and then he arrived in Ephesus, a city in Ionia, Asia Minor.[24] The three cities are so far apart that every relocation is contextually prepared; at the same time, the coherence of

[24] It should be noted that Aulis is only a stopover in the course of this journey. It is not surprising that a separate paragraph is dedicated to the place where Agesilaus's attempts at offering sacrifice are frustrated by the Boeotarchs, given Xenophon's special interest in the role of the gods in the *Hellenica* and elsewhere, and especially his portrayal of Agesilaus as a religious character in the *Hellenica* (cf. *θυσάμενος ὅσα ἔδει καὶ τἆλλα καὶ τὰ διαβατήρια*) and in the *Agesilaus*. The paragraph is opened by a *ὡς*-clause, and therewith set off from the adjacent parapraphs at the onset of which the departure and final destination of Agesilaus's journey are presented in *ἐπεί*-clauses.

the story is secured: by means of the anaphoric adverbs the speaker refers back to the last part of the preceding paragraph (ἐβουλήθη ἐλθὼν θῦσαι ἐν Αὐλίδι ↔ ὡς δ' ἐκεῖ ἐγένετο; εἰς Ἔφεσον τὸν στόλον ἐποιεῖτο ↔ ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖσε ἀφίκετο). Especially since the informational content of the subclauses is contextually prepared, the information that he actually arrives where he is heading for is easily processed, and the subclauses are apt to do extra discourse work, *viz.*, the articulation of a new thematic unit. The articulation of the paragraphs of the story may be said to be established according to an *expectancy chain*.

His arriving in Gerastus, however, constitutes a different case: it is not contextually prepared—the preceding verb ἀπέπλει leaves open the direction in which he sailed away.[25] Further, Gerastus, a promontory and a city at the southern extremity of Euboea, is close to the location where he had last been, i.e., Aulis. Therefore, no major relocation is at issue. Agesilaus's arriving in Gerastus is part of the event-sequence that started with his arriving in Aulis: after his offering sacrifice at Aulis had been hindered, Agesilaus got angry and sailed away. However, before going to Asia—the main goal of his journey—, he had to stop at Gerastus in order to collect there as large a part of his army as he could. The preposed participial clause ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ Γεραστόν just articulates a build up-unit of the larger structure of which it is part: the paragraph on the stopover between his leaving Sparta and his reaching Asia Minor.[26]

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[25] Note that within this progressive participial clause, the verbal constituent precedes its argument, whereas in the two continuative subclauses the order of the constituent is reversed.

[26] *Hellenica* 5.2.39 provides an example where a subclause is used although the location mentioned is not the new spatial setting, since there too the main participant—Teleutias—is on his way towards a new location when the main clause is reached: ταῦτα δὲ ποιῶν, μάλα πολλὴν ἔχων στρατιὰν ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν συμμαχίδα. **ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Ποτείδαιαν**, ἐκεῖθεν συνταξάμενος ἐπορεύετο εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν. καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὴν πόλιν ἰὼν οὔτ' ἔκαεν οὔτ' ἔκοπτε, νομίζων, εἴ τι ποιήσειε τούτων, ἐμποδὼν ἂν αὐτῷ πάντα γίγνεσθαι καὶ προσιόντι καὶ ἀπιόντι· ὁπότε δὲ ἀναχωροίη ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως, τότε ὀρθῶς ἔχειν κόπτοντα τὰ δένδρα ἐμποδὼν καταβάλλειν, εἴ τις ὄπισθεν ἐπίοι ('As a result of his doing these things he had a very large army when he arrived in the territory of his state's allies. **When he had come to Potidaea**, he proceeded from there with his army in order of battle into the enemy's country. Now on his way toward the city of Olynthus he neither burned nor cut down, believing that anything of this sort he should do would prove so many obstacles in his way both as he approached and as he withdrew; but he believed that when he should retire from the city it would be right to cut down the trees and put them in the way of anyone who might come against him from behind').

One feature remains to be addressed: in the case of the conjunct participle *ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ Γεραστόν* the preposed subordinate clause and its following matrix clause share the same subject, as the first *ἐπεί*-clause and its following matrix clause do, whereas in the case of the clauses *ὡς δ' ἐκεῖ ἐγένετο* and *ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖσε ἀφίκετο* the obvious alternative for a subclause would have been a genitive absolute. However, as both the conjunct participle and the genitive absolute belong to the grammatical class of participial clauses, this observation would seem to be of little importance as far as the use of *ἐπεί-/ὡς*-clauses in this passage is concerned; to all appearances, its high degree of linguistic coding makes the subclause the appropriate subordinate clause to be used at points of discourse turbulence reflecting a high degree of spatial discontinuity in the Real World (consider especially the high information status of *ἐπεὶ δὲ θυσάμενος ὅσα ἔδει καὶ τἆλλα καὶ τὰ διαβατήρια ἐξῆλθε* in combination with the complex structure to follow: *ταῖς μὲν πόλεσι διαπέμψας ἀγγέλους προεῖπεν ... αὐτὸς δ'*).

When spatial discontinuity is at issue, the discourse is usually also (slightly) discontinuous with respect to time. *Ἐπεί*-, *ἐπειδή*-, and *ὡς*-clauses found at such point should not be simply labelled 'temporal' clauses, for this would not do justice to their contribution to the organization of the discourse. This is, of course, not to deny that sometimes the only possible *interpretation* of the, strictly speaking, not semantically specified relation between the content of the subclause and the matrix clause is indeed temporal. Here is an example:

> [10] *Anabasis* 3.5.3-7
> *ἐνταῦθα Τισσαφέρνης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ καίειν ἐπεχείρησαν τὰς κώμας. καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μάλα ἠθύμησάν τινες, ἐννοούμενοι μὴ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, εἰ καίοιεν, οὐκ ἔχοιεν ὁπόθεν λαμβάνοιεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον ἀπῆσαν ἐκ τῆς βοηθείας· ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἐπεὶ κατέβη, παρελαύνων τὰς τάξεις ἡνίκα ἀπὸ τῆς βοηθείας ἀπήντησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔλεγεν·*
> *ὁρᾶτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ὑφιέντας τὴν χώραν ἤδη ἡμετέραν εἶναι; ἃ γὰρ ὅτε ἐσπένδοντο διεπράττοντο, μὴ καίειν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν, νῦν αὐτοὶ καίουσιν ὡς ἀλλοτρίαν. ἀλλ' ἐάν που καταλείπωσί*

However, the subclause makes for thematic segmentation in a different way: after a passage about Teleutias collecting an army (§§37-38), which is brought to an end with the closure *ταῦτα δὲ ποιῶν, μάλα πολλὴν ἔχων στρατιὰν ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν συμμαχίδα*, the subclause marks the transition from Teleutias's preparations to his invading the enemy's country. Note also the use of *ἦλθεν*, not *ἀφίκετο*.

*γε αὐτοῖς ἐπιτήδεια, ὄψονται καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐνταῦθα πορευομένους. ἀλλ', ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἔφη, δοκεῖ μοι βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς καίοντας ὡς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας. ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος εἶπεν· οὔκουν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἔφη, καίωμεν, καὶ οὕτω θᾶττον παύσονται.*

***ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς ἦλθον***, *οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι περὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦσαν, στρατηγοὶ δὲ καὶ λοχαγοὶ συνῆσαν.*

Then Tissaphernes and his followers attempted to burn the villages; and some of the Greeks got exceedingly despondent, out of apprehension that they would not have a place from which to get provisions in case the enemy should succeed in this attempt. Meanwhile Cheirisophus and his men, who had gone to the rescue of the plunderers, were returning; Xenophon—he had come down from the mountain—rode along the lines upon falling in with the Greeks of the rescuing party and said:

"Do you observe, men of Greece, that they admit the country is now ours? For while they stipulated when they made the treaty that there should be no burning of the King's territory, now they are doing that very thing themselves, as though the land were another's. At any rate, if they leave supplies anywhere for their own use, they shall see us also proceeding to that spot. But, Cheirisophus," he went on, "it seems to me that we ought to come to the rescue against these incendiaries, like men defending their own country." "Well, it doesn't seem so to me," said Cheirisophus; "rather, let us set about burning ourselves, and then they will stop the sooner."

**When they came to their quarters**, they found that the troops were busy about provisions, and that the generals and captains gathered in council.

The only world-relation one can conceive of between the content of the preposed subclause ('they came to their quarters') and the content of the following matrix clause ('the others were busy about provisions, the generals and captains gathered in council') is a temporal one. But this only matters in *translation*. Other than for instance a more specific temporal relator such as ὅτε, the subclause is not used to establish a temporal link between the subclause and its matrix clause. Only a semantically non-specific relator can be used here, for it is a rather peculiar clause combination: on the sentence level, the aorist verbal constituent of the ἐπεί-clause projects cataphoric temporal succession, but the verbal constituents of its matrix clause describe states that obtained at the time, to the effect that the superordinate situation is relayed from a participant's point of view: 'on coming to their quarters, *they found that* the troops were busy about provisions, and that the generals and captains gathered in council'. In the on-going

narrative, the ἐπεί-clause serves the function of segmentation on the level of the Real World construction, in the case at hand at a point where there is thematic (*viz.*, spatial) discontinuity: a shift occurs from the location where the speech delivered by Xenophon and his conversation with Cheirisophus had taken place, which phase had started at ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἐπεὶ κατέβη, to the location of their quarters. In fact, from ἐνταῦθα onwards, the place of action had not been described very precisely, and with ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς ἦλθον the spatial setting is redefined. The ἐπεί-clause is therefore better regarded as a thematic boundary-marker than as a 'temporal' subclause. Moreover, as regards the notion of 'time' in the case of subclauses of this type, they do not indicate a specific temporal relation between the content of the subclause and the content of its matrix clause, but rather propel *narrative time* forward.

4.2.3 *Referential Discontinuity*

[11] *Hellenica* 2.3.23-24

*οἱ δ' ἐμποδὼν νομίζοντες αὐτὸν* (*sc.* τὸν Θηραμένην) *εἶναι τῷ ποιεῖν ὅ τι βούλοιντο, ἐπιβουλεύουσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον διέβαλλον ὡς λυμαινόμενον τὴν πολιτείαν. καὶ παραγγείλαντες νεανίσκοις οἳ ἐδόκουν αὐτοῖς θρασύτατοι εἶναι ξιφίδια ὑπὸ μάλης ἔχοντας παραγενέσθαι, συνέλεξαν τὴν βουλήν.*

***ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Θηραμένης παρῆν***, *ἀναστὰς ὁ* Κριτίας *ἔλεξεν ὧδε.*

The Thirty, thinking that Theramenes was an obstacle to their doing whatever they pleased, plotted against him, and kept accusing him to individual councillors, one to one man and another to another, of injuring the government. And they passed the word to some young men, who seemed to them most audacious, to be in attendance with daggers hidden under their arms, and convened the Council.

**When Theramenes was present**, Critias arose and spoke as follows…

The discourse preceding the subclause closes off with the statement that the Thirty convened the Council; the next scene is at the meeting of the Council. Therefore, the discourse is temporally and spatially discontinuous when the subclause is used. However, the subclause may be said to primarily signal referential discontinuity, as Theramenes is re-introduced as a discourse participant when we learn that Theramenes was present at the meeting. The relevance of Theramenes's presence for Critias to deliver a speech is, as far as the link to the preceding unit is concerned, not to be viewed as a back-reference to a specific action in the preceding discourse, but as a back-

reference to the content of the preceding unit as a whole, the preceding unit being about the Thirty plotting against Theramenes. Critias, of course, is one of the Thirty, and indeed at the end of the meeting Theramenes will die.[27]

## 4.3 *Thematic Continuity*

In example [11] of the preceding Section, Theramenes's arrival on the scene in itself constitutes a break in the thematic, predominantly participant/action-oriented continuity of the passage involved. With respect to the continuity of participants, it is to be noted that any appearance, re-appearance, or disappearance of a participant in itself involves (a certain degree of) discontinuity in the text. Whether, however, this discontinuity is to be viewed by the reader/hearer as a *thematic* break, depends on the context in which it occurs, and the aims and purposes of the story-teller at a certain point in the text.

[27] Of course, the information that 'someone was present' can be expressed by a different clause type as well, as witnessed by the following (preposed) genitive absolute (*Hellenica* 7.4.1): καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Εὔφρονος εἴρηται· ἐγὼ δὲ ἔνθεν εἰς ταῦτα ἐξέβην ἐπάνειμι. **ἔτι γὰρ τειχιζόντων τῶν Φλειασίων τὴν Θυαμίαν καὶ τοῦ Χάρητος ἔτι παρόντος** Ὠρωπὸς ὑπὸ τῶν φευγόντων κατελήφθη ('the story of Euphron has been told, and I return to the point from which I digressed to this subject: **the Phliasians were still fortifying Thyamia and Chares was still with them**, when Oropus was seized by those who had been exiled therefrom'). Here, Chares was (still) present when Oropos was seized by those who had been exiled. But the essential difference between the use of this genitive absolute and of a subclause in [11] is that the genitive absolute is used after one of the greatest textual boundaries one can conceive of: the intrusion of the narrator with a first person reference: "the story of Euphron has been told; I return to the point from which I digressed". Thus a completely new start is made with the genitive absolute, and the immediately preceding discourse-content is irrelevant (note that the digression on Euphron had started in 7.3.4, and that with ἔτι γὰρ τειχιζόντων τῶν Φλειασίων τὴν Θυαμίαν, the narrator refers back to the point where he left the Phliasians fortifying Thyamia, in 7.2.23), whereas in the case of the ἐπεί-clause in [11] the information expressed in the subclause elaborates on the theme of the preceding unit, so that there the subclause is preferred to encode discontinuity of participants at a point of text segmentation, whereas in *Hellenica* 7.4.1, the main clauses καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Εὔφρονος εἴρηται· ἐγὼ δὲ ἔνθεν εἰς ταῦτα ἐξέβην ἐπάνειμι express a thematic boundary, and the text can be continued with a more strongly desententialized subordinate clause (cf. Chapter 2, Section 4: [7]). The comparison reveals that the choice among alternatives—in this case: a subclause and a genitive absolute—is essentially a choice that is made and determined by the *context* in which the expression is used. In [11], the fact that Theramenes was present, a piece of information necessary to comprehend the sequel of a narrative sequence in progress, is expressed by means of a subclause in order to articulate a thematic boundary within an on-going narrative sequence organized in phases.

4.3.1 *The Genitive Absolute*

Example [12] presents a genitive absolute in a differently organized piece of discourse used at a point of only slight referential discontinuity in an otherwise continous passage:

> [12] *Anabasis* 3.3.1
> *ταῦτα ποιήσαντες* ***ἠριστοποιοῦντο. ἀριστοποιουμένων δὲ αὐτῶν*** *ἔρχεται Μιθραδάτης σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ὡς τριάκοντα, καὶ καλεσάμενος τοὺς στρατηγοὺς εἰς ἐπήκοον λέγει ὧδε.*
>
> Having done these things, **they took breakfast; and they were having breakfast**, when Mithradates approached with about thirty horsemen, and summoned the Greek generals within earshot and spoke as follows: …

The text continues at exactly the point where it had stopped: at the beginning of its sentence, the participial clause restates in non-finite form the finite verb of the preceding sentence. This usage of a preposed, sentence-initially placed participial clause illustrates the discourse-level strategy known as Tail-Head linkage; in the present case (***ἀριστοποιουμένων*** … ***ἠριστοποιοῦντο***) this is done by means of lexical overlap. Both the particle **δέ** and the resumptive participial clause mark the onset of a new DU.

On the content-level, however, there is no discourse boundary. Narrative time is not propelled forward, but rather maintained: the situation that was last described (they were having breakfast: ***ἠριστοποιοῦντο***) is turned into the frame of reference for what follows: the appearance of a new participant who joins the current cast of participants. Repeating information that is already known is an effective means at the same time to prepare the hearer/reader for constituents with high information status, and to secure coherence between sentences expressing otherwise unrelated events. The narrator's wish to introduce a new participant to the stage at a point where he also wishes to convey that all other things remain equal[28]

[28] The temporal and spatial continuity is conspicuous; as far as referential continuity is concerned, note that some (*τοὺς στρατηγούς*) of the characters that are referred to by ***αὐτῶν*** remain active discourse participants. Contrast, e.g., *Hellenica* 1.1.25-26: *καὶ συγκαλέσας τούς τε ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων στρατηγοὺς καὶ τριηράρχους ἐκέλευε* ***ναυπηγεῖσθαι*** *τριήρεις ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ὅσας ἕκαστοι ἀπώλεσαν, χρήματά τε διδοὺς καὶ ὕλην ἐκ τῆς Ἴδης κομίζεσθαι φράζων.* ***ναυπηγουμένων δὲ*** *οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἅμα τοῖς Ἀντανδρίοις τοῦ τείχους τι ἐπετέλεσαν, καὶ ἐν τῇ φρουρᾷ*

has led him to use a resumptive genitive absolute—which may be characterized as a minimally necessary linguistic device to secure textual coherence—, lest the textual boundary be perceived as a content-oriented boundary.[29]

The use of a genitive absolute at a point of slight referential discontinuity within a larger thematic whole is further illustrated in [13]:

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*ἤρεσαν πάντων μάλιστα* ('Furthermore, calling together the generals and ship-captains from the various states, he bade them **build** triremes at Antandrus to equal the number which they had severally lost, giving them money for the purpose and telling them to get timber from Mount Ida. **And while the ship-building was going on**, the Syracusans helped the Antandrians to finish a portion of their wall, and in the garrison-duty made themselves most popular'), where the resumptive present stem genitive absolute occurs without its subject expressed, at a point where the topic is switched.

[29] The sequence '*ἠριστοποιοῦντο … ἀριστοποιουμένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἔρχεται* participant X' resembles the situation found in example [19] of Chapter 3, Section 1.2 (*Anabasis* 1.8.1): *καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν ἀμφὶ ἀγορὰν πλήθουσαν καὶ πλησίον ἦν ὁ σταθμὸς ἔνθα ἔμελλε καταλύειν*, ***ἡνίκα Πατηγύας***, *ἀνὴρ Πέρσης τῶν ἀμφὶ Κῦρον χρηστός*, ***προφαίνεται*** *ἐλαύνων ἀνὰ κράτος ἱδροῦντι τῷ ἵππῳ, καὶ εὐθὺς πᾶσιν οἷς ἐνετύγχανεν ἐβόα καὶ βαρβαρικῶς καὶ ἑλληνικῶς ὅτι βασιλεὺς σὺν στρατεύματι πολλῷ προσέρχεται ὡς εἰς μάχην παρεσκευασμένος* ('It was now about full-market time and the stopping-place where Cyrus was intending to halt had been almost reached, **when Pategyas**, a trusty Persian of Cyrus' staff, **came into sight**, riding at full speed, with his horse in a sweat, and at once shouted out to everyone he met, in the barbarian tongue and in Greek, that the King was approaching with a large army, all ready for battle'). It was stated there that in sentences structured 'situation x obtained, when…', the main assertion is to be found in the postposed subclause, and that this type of construction owes its *raison d'être* to the temporal relation between the content of the clauses of which the clause combination consists, hence the semantically specific temporal relator. The sequence '*ἠριστοποιοῦντο … ἀριστοποιουμένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἔρχεται* participant X' is comparable to some extent: in *Anabasis* 1.8.1, the Real World relation is expressed, in [12] it is not, but it is at least conceivable that the same Real World relation holds (see also my interpretative translation 'they were having breakfast, when Mithradates approached'). However, as far as the *presentation* of these events goes, there is a difference. The two clauses of which the clause combination in *Anabasis* 1.8.1 consists both present information that is entirely new. The narrator is forced to specify the relation between the content of the two clauses, which is temporal. By using the 'situation x obtained, when…'-construction, he realizes that the content of the preceding clause (*καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν … ἔμελλε καταλύειν*) is be perceived by the reader/hearer as a background to what follows. In [12], on the other hand, where the information contained in the genitive absolute is entirely given, the narrator seems to focus on the organization of his text, giving higher priority to the segmentation and (at the same time) linkage of adjacents DU's; especially since a present stem is used for a durative action, the Real World relation between the content of the clauses of which the clause combination consists need not be expressed, as it is sufficiently clear from the context.

[13] *Hellenica* 3.4.12-15
*ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ Καρίαν ἰέναι εὐθὺς τἀναντία ἀποστρέψας ἐπὶ Φρυγίας ἐπορεύετο, καὶ τάς τ' ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ πόλεις κατεστρέφετο καὶ ἐμβαλὼν ἀπροσδοκήτοις παμπλήθη χρήματα ἐλάμβανε. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἀσφαλῶς διεπορεύετο· οὐ πόρρω δ' ὄντος Δασκυλείου, προϊόντος αὐτοῦ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἤλαυνον ἐπὶ λόφον τινά, ὡς προΐδοιεν τί τἄμπροσθεν εἴη. κατὰ τύχην δέ τινα καὶ οἱ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου ἱππεῖς οἱ περὶ Ῥαθίνην καὶ Βαγαῖον τὸν νόθον ἀδελφόν, ὄντες παρόμοιοι τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὸν ἀριθμόν, πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου ἤλαυνον καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον λόφον. ἰδόντες δὲ ἀλλήλους οὐδὲ τέτταρα πλέθρα ἀπέχοντας, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔστησαν ἀμφότεροι, οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ἱππεῖς ὥσπερ φάλαγξ ἐπὶ τεττάρων παρατεταγμένοι, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τοὺς πρώτους οὐ πλέον ἢ εἰς δώδεκα ποιήσαντες, τὸ βάθος δ' ἐπὶ πολλῶν. ἔπειτα μέντοι πρόσθεν ὥρμησαν οἱ βάρβαροι.*

***ὡς δ' εἰς χεῖρας ἦλθον***, *ὅσοι μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔπαισάν τινας, πάντες συνέτριψαν τὰ δόρατα, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι κρανέϊνα παλτὰ ἔχοντες ταχὺ δώδεκα μὲν ἱππέας, δύο δ' ἵππους ἀπέκτειναν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐτρέφθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἱππεῖς.* ***βοηθήσαντος δὲ Ἀγησιλάου σὺν τοῖς ὁπλίταις***, *πάλιν ἀπεχώρουν οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ [Περσῶν] εἷς αὐτῶν ἀποθνῄσκει. γενομένης δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἱππομαχίας, …*

And he, Agesilaus, instead of proceeding against Caria, straightway turned in the opposite direction and marched towards Phrygia, and he subdued the cities which he passed through on the march, and, by falling upon them unexpectedly, obtained great quantities of booty. And most of the time he marched through the country in safety; Dascyleium was not far off and he went forward when his horsemen rode to the top of a hill so as to see what was in front. And by chance the horsemen of Pharnabazus, under the command of Rhathines and Bagaeus, his bastard brother, just about equal to the Greek cavalry in number, had been sent out by Pharnabazus and likewise rode to the top of this same hill. The two squadrons saw one another, not so much as four plethra apart, and at first both halted, the Greek horsemen being drawn up four deep like a phalanx, and the barbarians with a front of not more than twelve, but many men deep. Then, however, the barbarians charged.

**When they came to a hand-to-hand encounter**, all of the Greeks who struck anyone broke their spears; the barbarians, being armed with javelins of cornel-wood, speedily killed twelve men and two horses. Thereupon the Greeks were turned to flight. **Agesilaus came to the rescue with the hoplites**, and the barbarians withdrew again and one of them was killed. After this cavalry battle …

The fact that Agesilaus came to the rescue of his horsemen is entirely new information brought into the discourse at the beginning of a new DU, which moves the discourse forward to a new point: as such, the genitive absolute *βοηθήσαντος δὲ Ἀγησιλάου σὺν τοῖς ὁπλίταις* is a progressive clause. It is used at a point of only slight referential discontinuity: the addition of a participant to a topical set of participants. Agesilaus's appearance is the turning point in the description of the cavalry battle: before he came to the rescue, the Greek horsemen were turned to flight (*ἐτρέφθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἱππεῖς*), but once Agesilaus re-appeared on the stage, the barbarians withdrew (*πάλιν ἀπεχώρουν οἱ βάρβαροι*). Viewed within a larger structure, however, the sentence-initially placed genitive absolute just articulates a sub-section of a thematic unit: the large-scale thematic caesura is marked by the subclause *ὡς δ' εἰς χεῖρας ἦλθον*, which divides the entire passage into two thematic paragraphs: a preparatory stage, closed off by the independent clause with an aorist verb form *ἔπειτα μέντοι πρόσθεν ὥρμησαν οἱ βάρβαροι*, and the battle encounter itself, whose onset is marked by the *ὡς*-clause *ὡς δ' εἰς χεῖρας ἦλθον*.[30]

The preposed genitive absolute, then, may be regarded as a minimally necessary linguistic device to secure textual coherence to be inserted at the point where the speaker/narrator wishes to provide a hinge between two parts of his text without articulating a thematic boundary. In example [14], [15] and [16] such a genitive absolute is used in comparable but not identical passages that at least have in common that every passage is continuous with respect to action-event coherence:

[30] At first sight, the use of a resumptive genitive absolute (*γενομένης δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἱππομαχίας*) to mark the end of the battle-sequence seems to be inconsistent with the observations presented so far: why use a *ὡς*-clause at the boundary at which a new thematic sequence starts, and a genitive absolute at a boundary where the battle scene is closed off? This can be explained by pointing out that, whereas the *ὡς*-clause is used to mark off the preparatory stage from the battle itself, the genitive absolute closes off only one part of the preceding thematic sequence ('the fighting had stopped'), but at the same time continues a theme that has just been developed ('Agesilaus's military achievements'); in the sequel, this theme is elaborated on: Agesilaus will turn out to be not as succesful as we might think he is, for on the next day, during a sacrifice-session *ἐπὶ προόδῳ*, the livers appear to be lacking a lobe—highlighted by the use of a historical present (*γίγνεται*)—; as a result of this he turns and marches to the sea and recognizes the importance of an adequate calvalry force; see also Chapter 2, Section 3.

[14] *Anabasis* 1.6.7-8
*... πάλιν δὲ ὁ Κῦρος ἠρώτα· Οὐκοῦν ὕστερον, ὡς αὐτὸς σὺ ὁμολογεῖς, οὐδὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἀδικούμενος ἀποστὰς εἰς Μυσοὺς κακῶς ἐποίεις τὴν ἐμὴν χώραν ὅ τι ἐδύνω; ἔφη Ὀρόντας. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ὁπότ' αὖ ἔγνως τὴν σαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος βωμὸν μεταμέλειν τέ σοι ἔφησθα καὶ πείσας ἐμὲ πιστὰ πάλιν ἔδωκάς μοι καὶ ἔλαβες παρ' ἐμοῦ; καὶ ταῦθ' ὡμολόγει Ὀρόντας. Τί οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ἀδικηθεὶς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ νῦν τὸ τρίτον ἐπιβουλεύων μοι φανερὸς γέγονας;* ***εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Ὀρόντα*** *ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀδικηθείς, ἠρώτησεν ὁ Κῦρος αὐτόν· Ὁμολογεῖς οὖν περὶ ἐμὲ ἄδικος γεγενῆσθαι; Ἦ γὰρ ἀνάγκη, ἔφη Ὀρόντας ...*

... Cyrus went on questioning him: "Did you not afterwards, as you yourself admit, without having been wronged in any way by me, desert me for the Mysians and do all the harm you could to my territory?"

"Yes," said Orontas.

"Did you not," Cyrus said, "when once more you had learned the slightness of your own power, go to the altar of Artemis and say you were sorry, and did you not prevail upon me to pardon you and again give me pledges and receive pledges from me?"

This also Orontas admitted.

"What wrong, then," said Cyrus, "have you suffered at my hands, that you now for the third time have been found plotting against me?"

**Orontas replied**, "None," and Cyrus asked him: "Do you admit, then, that you have proved yourself a doer of wrong toward me?"

"Necessarily so," said Orontas ...

In this 'question-and-answer paragraph' the fact that Orontas said something is contextually prepared information: it is given with the discourse-situation. Even his answer may be considered contextually prepared, to the extent that Orontas does not, and is not in the position to, contradict anything brought forward by Cyrus. The grammatical subordination of Orontas's statement by means of a genitive absolute has the effect that his interlocutor, Cyrus, is felt to be the dominant discourse participant. This is especially functional since Cyrus comes up with the main point he was aiming at all the time (Ὁμολογεῖς οὖν περὶ ἐμὲ ἄδικος γεγενῆσθαι). In terms of text articulation, however, the genitive absolute coincides with a text boundary (the start of a new DU), but one within a thematically continuous whole.[31]

[31] That it is not the information status *per se* which is decisive for the discourse function performed can be gathered from *Hellenica* 7.4.3-4, where the genitive absolute *εἰπόντος δὲ Δημοτίωνος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῶν* Ἀθηναίων ... is a progressive

[15] *Hellenica* 3.1.7
*ἣν δὲ ἃς ἀσθενεῖς οὔσας καὶ κατὰ κράτος ὁ Θίβρων ἐλάμβανε· Λάρισάν γε μὴν τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν καλουμένην, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐπείθετο, περιστρατοπεδευσάμενος ἐπολιόρκει. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄλλως οὐκ ἐδύνατο ἑλεῖν, φρεατίαν τεμόμενος ὑπόνομον ὤρυττεν, ὡς ἀφαιρησόμενος τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτῶν. ὡς δ' ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ἐκθέοντες πολλάκις ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὸ ὄρυγμα καὶ ξύλα καὶ λίθους, ποιησάμενος αὖ χελώνην ξυλίνην ἐπέστησεν ἐπὶ τῇ φρεατίᾳ. καὶ ταύτην μέντοι ἐκδραμόντες οἱ Λαρισαῖοι νύκτωρ κατέκαυσαν.* **δοκοῦντος δ' αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ποιεῖν**, *πέμπουσιν οἱ ἔφοροι ἀπολιπόντα Λάρισαν στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Καρίαν.*

On the other hand, there were some weak cities which Thibron did actually capture by storm; as for Larisa (Egyptian Larisa, as it is called)—in view of the fact that it refused to yield, he encamped about the place and besieged it. Then, in view of the fact that he proved unable to capture it in any other way, he sunk a shaft and began to dig a tunnel therefrom, with the idea of cutting off their water supply. Then they made frequent sallies from within the wall and threw pieces of wood and stones into the shaft, and so he met this move by making a wooden shed and setting it over the shaft. The Larisaeans, however, sallied forth by night and destroyed the shed also, by fire. **So he seemed to be accomplishing nothing**, and the ephors sent him word to leave Larisa and undertake a campaign against Caria.

After it is stated that there were some weak cities which Thibron captured by storm, the city of Larisa is introduced as the new discourse topic (*Λάρισάν γε μὴν τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν καλουμένην*). In successive stages (introduced by ἐπεὶ δέ and ὡς δέ) attention is paid to the problems Thibron had in capturing the place; with *καὶ ταύτην μέντοι* a signal is given that the episode on Larissa comes to a close. At the onset of a new DU (δέ) a preposed present stem genitive absolute summarizes the negative results of Thibron's efforts. What was already implicit is now expressed from the point of view of the Ephors, the subject of the matrix clause, who send him word to leave Larisa and undertake a campaign against Caria.

The genitive absolute, then, is used by the narrator as a 'bridge' between two parts of his text. Another subclause would have

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clause; a new start is made after a short digression on the death of Lycomedes, while the discourse remains concerned with the same theme: the alliance of the Athenians and the Arcadians. There too, the genitive absolute is used at a textual boundary, not a thematic boundary.

suggested that a next phase in the siege would follow, which is not the case. A conjunct participle in the accusative case would not have been an option either, as the subject of the preposed embedded predication only performs a syntactic function in the matrix clause as the subject of the argument (*ἀπολιπόντα Λάρισαν στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Καρίαν*) of *πέμπουσιν*.[32]

> [16] *Hellenica* 3.3.4
> *τοιαῦτα δὲ ἀκούσασα ἡ πόλις ἀμφοτέρων Ἀγησίλαον εἵλοντο βασιλέα.*
> *οὔπω δ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὄντος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ἀγησιλάου, θύοντος αὐτοῦ τῶν τεταγμένων τινὰ θυσιῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως εἶπεν ὁ μάντις ὅτι ἐπιβουλήν τινα τῶν δεινοτάτων φαίνοιεν οἱ θεοί. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἔθυεν,*[33] *ἔτι δεινότερα ἔφη τὰ ἱερὰ φαίνεσθαι. τὸ τρίτον δὲ θύοντος, εἶπεν· Ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, ὥσπερ εἰ ἐν αὐτοῖς εἴημεν τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὕτω μοι σημαίνεται. ἐκ δὲ τούτου θύοντες καὶ τοῖς ἀποτροπαίοις καὶ τοῖς σωτῆρσι, καὶ μόλις καλλιερήσαντες, ἐπαύσαντο.* ***ληγούσης δὲ τῆς θυσίας*** *ἐντὸς πένθ' ἡμερῶν καταγορεύει τις πρὸς τοὺς ἐφόρους ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τοῦ πράγματος Κινάδωνα.*
>
> Upon hearing such arguments from both claimants the state chose Agesilaus king.
> Agesilaus—he had been not yet a year in the kingly office—once was offering one of the appointed sacrifices on behalf of the state, when the seer said that the gods revealed a conspiracy of the most terrible sort. Then he sacrificed again, and the seer said that the signs appeared still more terrible. He was offering sacrifice for the third time, when the seer said: "Agesilaus, just such a sign is given me as would be given if we were in the very midst of the enemy." Thereupon they made offerings to the gods who avert evil and to those who grant safety and with difficulty obtained favourable omens, and ceased sacrificing. Within five days **after the sacrifice was ended** a man reported to the ephors a conspiracy, and Cinadon as the head of the affair.

Here, too, we find a present stem genitive absolute used as minimally necessary linguistic device to secure textual coherence, as a hinge between two adjacent DU's within a thematic sequence. The information contained in the participial clause *ληγούσης … τῆς θυσίας* is entirely given, since *καλλιερήσαντες ἐπαύσαντο* and *ληγούσης … τῆς θυσίας* refer to the same Real World situation:

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[32] See Chapter 5, Section 2 on genitive absolute constructions vs. conjunct participles.
[33] *ἔθυεν* most editors following Morus : *ἔθυσεν* mss.

obtaining favourable omens and then ceasing to sacrifice entails the sacrifice having come to an end. It is a case of Tail-Head linkage by means of propositional overlap.

It is an interesting example because, in my opinion, the verbal action λήγω requires a punctual interpretation here; despite the use of a present stem, the action ληγούσης cannot be said to be simultaneous with the action καταγορεύει in the matrix clause. Moreover, we may conclude on the basis of the temporal adverbial ἐντὸς πένθ' ἡμερῶν (within five days) that the event described by ληγούσης τῆς θυσίας is temporally succeeded by the event in the following matrix clause[34] (καταγορεύει, again a historical present at the point where a new participant is introduced).

The point about the present stem is that although a new DU is started, the thematic paragraph about the sacrifice[35] is not closed off, but rather continued: the whole point of the paragraph is that Agesilaus and the seer found great difficulty in obtaining favourable omens, and that this turned out to be a very bad sign indeed, for within five days after the sacrifice had come to an end, a conspiracy was announced. We may therefore speak of thematic continuity, while the propositional overlap ἐπαύσαντο/ληγούσης τῆς θυσίας serves as a marker of a *textual* boundary without a content-oriented boundary being at issue: the genitive absolute takes the situation arrived at at the end of the preceding segment as the point of departure for the upcoming segment, in which the new participant who announces the conspiracy is introduced and the point about the hardly successful sacrifice-session is made. Only there is the end of the first paragraph

[34] Cf. Pindar, *fr. 124c* (*94*): δείπνου δὲ λήγοντος γλυκὺ τρωγάλιον | καίπερ πεδ' ἄφθονον βοράν, and B.A. van Groningen (*Pindare au banquet*, Leiden 1960, 104-105), who notes on λήγοντος: "le verbe a ici le même sens perfectif qu'à l'autre endroit où Pindare l'emploie, *Py*. 4, 292 ἐν δὲ χρόνῳ μεταβολαὶ λήξαντος οὔρου ἱστίων. Les τρωγάλια se servent après le repas." Contrast *Hellenica* 7.1.32: ληξάσης τῆς μάχης (but *Cyropaedia* 4.5.21, following a preposition: σὺν τῷ φόβῳ λήγοντι) and Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 637-638: πόνου λήξαντος.

[35] The three sentence-initially placed subordinate clauses οὔπω δ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὄντος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ἀγησιλάου θύοντος αὐτοῦ τῶν τεταγμένων τινὰ θυσιῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἔθυεν, and τὸ τρίτον δὲ θύοντος help to articulate the boundaries between sub-sections (BU's) of the sequence paragraph; the "triple sequence of warnings is the conventional motif of the storyteller who wishes to create suspense" (Gray, 1989: 40). The subclause creates a relatively deep incision, at the moment that with the second attempt, the act of 'sacrificing' becomes thematic.

of the story of Cinadon reached.[36] As the verbal constituent in the genitive absolute neither has focus function nor performs a function in establishing relative chronology (this job having been done by the temporal adverbial ἐντὸς πένθ' ἡμερῶν, for which the genitive absolute provides a point of reference), the absolute participle, the minimally necessary linguistic device to secure textual coherence, just establishes a smooth transition from the one DU to the other within a thematically continuous sequence, here at a point where a new participant is introduced.

### 4.3.2 *The Conjunct Participle*

The majority of conjunct participles in narrative discourse is found in the nominative case, preposed to their matrix clause: the action expressed in the participial clause and the action expressed in the matrix clause are performed by the same participant, and the two clauses share the same subject. This entails, in terms of coherence, referential continuity over a two-clause span. But there seems to be more to it: anaphorically, more often than not, referential continuity is also found. Or to put it differently: preposed conjunct participles in the nominative case are preferrably used when a certain topic has been introduced and performs a series of sequential actions within a referentially continuous thematic sequence, the finite main verb primarily contributing to the thematic organization of the text in providing the most basic material for the structure of the passage as a

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[36] Cf. Jehne, 1995: 168-169 (my italics): "Die Episode (sc. the story of Cinadon) ist aber nicht nur insgesamt recht unzureichend eingebettet in den Gesamtzusammenhang der xenophontischen Darstellung, sondern *sie zerfällt auch in sich in zwei Teile*, die nur lose zusammengebunden sind. Xenophon schildert zunächst, daß der noch kein Jahr amtierende König Agesilaos opferte und ihm der Seher eröffnete, daß ihm die Götter etwas Schreckliches anzeigten; bei der Wiederholung des Opfers erschienen die Zeichen noch schlimmer, und als Agesilaos das dritte Mal opferte, sagte der Seher: »Agesilaos, ob wir mitten unter den Feinden selbst waren, so offenbart es sich mir«. Daraufhin opferte man eifrigst den apotropäischen und den rettenden Göttern, bis man mühseligst günstigere Zeichen erhielt; fünf Tage nach dem Ende der Opfer zeigte jemand bei den Ephoren den Verrat und seinen Urheber Kinadon an.

*Dieser Vorspann* ist für die weitere Geschichte, die Schilderung der Befragung des Verräters und der gegen die Verschwörung getroffenen Gegenmaßnahmen, weitgehend überflüssig". With regard to the latter, I would rather say that it is the introduction to the story as a whole, written in the best tradition of story-telling. However, whether or not the μάντις mentioned in 3.3.11 is the same as the one mentioned in 3.3.4 is hard to determine.

whole, as we have seen in Chapter 2. As regards text articulation, then, preposed participial clauses will predictably be found at points of segmentation and—possibly—linkage whithin a paragraph for the constitution of which referential continuity is the dominant coherence strand, regardless of possible discontinuity with respect to other coherence strands. Consider [17] through [21], in which examples the conjunct participial clauses in the nominative case are narrative clauses occupying the sentence-initial position:

[17] *Anabasis* 4.3.13-16

*Preceding: Two young men report to Xenophon that they have found a place to cross the river safely, because it is not accessible to the enemy's cavalry. Moreover, the river is not deep there…*

*εὐθὺς οὖν Ξενοφῶν αὐτός τε ἔσπενδε καὶ τοῖς νεανίσκοις ἐγχεῖν ἐκέλευε καὶ εὔχεσθαι τοῖς φήνασι θεοῖς τά τε ὀνείρατα καὶ τὸν πόρον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐπιτελέσαι.* ***σπείσας δ'*** *εὐθὺς ἦγε τοὺς νεανίσκους παρὰ τὸν Χειρίσοφον, καὶ διηγοῦνται ταὐτά.* ***ἀκούσας δὲ*** *καὶ ὁ Χειρίσοφος σπονδὰς ἐποίει.* ***σπείσαντες δὲ*** *τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις παρήγγελλον συσκευάζεσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ συγκαλέσαντες τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐβουλεύοντο ὅπως ἂν κάλλιστα διαβαῖεν καὶ τούς τε ἔμπροσθεν νικῷεν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὄπισθεν μηδὲν πάσχοιεν κακόν. καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς Χειρίσοφον μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ διαβαίνειν ἔχοντα τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ στρατεύματος, τὸ δ' ἥμισυ ἔτι ὑπομένειν σὺν Ξενοφῶντι, τὰ δὲ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἐν μέσῳ τούτων διαβαίνειν.*

*ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα καλῶς εἶχεν ἐπορεύοντο· ἡγοῦντο δ' οἱ νεανίσκοι ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν ποταμόν· ὁδὸς δὲ ἦν ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν ὡς τέτταρες στάδιοι.*

Xenophon immediately poured a libation himself, and directed his attendants to fill a cup for the young men and to pray to the gods who had revealed the dream and the ford, to bring to fulfilment the other blessings also. **The libation accomplished**, he at once led the young men to Cheirisophus, and they repeated their story to him. And **upon hearing it** Cheirisophus also made libation. **The libation accomplished**, they gave orders to the troops to pack up their baggage, while they themselves called together the generals and took counsel as to how they might best effect a crossing so as to defeat the enemy in front without suffering any harm from those in their rear. The decision was, that Cheirisophus should take the lead with half the army and attempt a crossing, that the other half with Xenophon should stay behind for a while, and that the baggage animals and camp followers should cross between the two divisions.

These arrangements had been satisfactorily made, and they set out, the young men leading the way and keeping the river on the left; and the distance to the ford was about four stadia.

The passage starts at the point where we are going to be informed about the reaction of the Greeks to the report brought by the young men.[37] In this paragraph, the conjunct participial clauses σπείσας and σπείσαντες present two examples of back-reference by means of lexical overlap (to ἔσπενδε and σπονδὰς ἐποίει,[38] respectively). The finite verbs referred back to are imperfects, while the resumptive participial clause has an aorist verbal constituent. The imperfects are used because in the macro-structure of the event sequence, they are to be connected to the other items in a series, which is closed off by a non-imperfect stem: Ξενοφῶν αὐτός τε ἔσπενδε καὶ … ἐκέλευε … ἦγε … καὶ διηγοῦνται and σπονδὰς ἐποίει … παρήγγελλον … ἐβουλεύοντο … καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, respectively. In the course of this ongoing series, the resumptive aorist participial clauses σπείσας and σπείσαντες mark off the relative chronology of the main actions, and, together with the particle δέ, they articulate the onset of a new DU in an ongoing thematic sequence.

The conjunct participial clause ἀκούσας illustrates the phenomenon known as 'reciprocal coupling' (see the Index of Linguistic Terms). As often, this special case of back-reference at the onset of a new DU to (part of) the preceding unit helps to articulate a topic-switch. Together with the particle δέ, this participial clause, too, helps to articulate the onset of a new DU within an ongoing thematic sequence.

The participial clauses discussed are used for textual coherence at points of small-scale segmentation within an otherwise continuous thematic whole. A thematic boundary is in fact reached the moment the sentence-initially placed subclause ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα καλῶς εἶχεν occurs: the preceding thematic paragraph about what was to be done in the light of the report by the young men resulted in a decision about how they were to proceed. A new paragraph about their way to the ford starts; this can be regarded as a new stage in the narrative. The information contained in the ἐπεί-clause is in itself of low information status: it is script-predictable information from the

[37] Here, the particle οὖν signals the onset of a new DU, marking the present section as the purpose of narrating the preceding report.

[38] The subject of σπείσαντες is most probably Cheirisophus and Xenophon; καί is to be understood in the sense: 'like Xenophon had done before'. Note the active ἐποίει: if Cheirisophus had poured a libation by himself, Xenophon might have used the middle voice.

previous paragraph. Besides providing information necessary for a good understanding of its matrix clause (cataphoric grounding), the subclause is used to separate the two paragraphs (and at the same time link the latter to the former anaphorically).

[18] *Hellenica* 2.1.10-12
*τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει [ἐπὶ Ἀρχύτα μὲν ἐφορεύοντος, ἄρχοντος δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀλεξίου,] Λύσανδρος ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἔφεσον μετεπέμψατο Ἐτεόνικον ἐκ Χίου σὺν ταῖς ναυσί, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πάσας συνήθροισεν, εἴ πού τις ἦν, καὶ ταύτας τ' ἐπεσκεύαζε καὶ ἄλλας ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ἐναυπηγεῖτο.* **ἐλθὼν δὲ παρὰ Κῦρον** *χρήματα ᾔτει· ὁ δ' αὐτῷ εἶπεν ὅτι τὰ μὲν παρὰ βασιλέως ἀνηλωμένα εἴη, καὶ ἔτι πλείω πολλῷ, δεικνύων ὅσα ἕκαστος τῶν ναυάρχων ἔχοι, ὅμως δ' ἔδωκε.* **λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Λύσανδρος τἀργύριον**, *ἐπὶ τὰς τριήρεις τριηράρχους ἐπέστησε καὶ τοῖς ναύταις τὸν ὀφειλόμενον μισθὸν ἀπέδωκε. παρεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοὶ †πρὸς τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ.*

In the following year—Archytas was now ephor, and Alexias archon at Athens—Lysander arrived at Ephesus and sent for Eteonicus to come thither from Chios with the ships, and he also gathered together all the other ships that were anywhere to be found, and he occupied himself with refitting these vessels and building more at Antandrus. **He went to Cyrus** and asked for money; and Cyrus told him that the funds provided by the King had been spent, in fact much more besides, showing him how much each of the admirals had received; nevertheless he did give him money. **Lysander took the money** and appointed to each trireme its captain, and paid his sailors the wages that were due them. And the Athenian generals also were getting their fleet in readiness, at Samos.

At the beginning of the quotation a new episode is started at a point of thematic discontinuity in every respect. However, we are quickly informed: a temporal (re-)orientation is provided by *τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει*; *Λύσανδρος* is re-introduced as the main protagonist; the participial clause *ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἔφεσον* is there in order to provide a spatial orientation and express the first action of the action-sequence that has been started simultaneously; the rest of the sentence is devoted to actions that set the theme of the passage: 'refitting the fleet'. By the end of the first sentence we know everything a recipient of a piece of narrative needs to know to keep track of the situation: time, place, participant, and action. The next sentence expresses the next step in the sequence, as signaled by **δέ**. It turns out that Lysander went to Cyrus and asked for money (*ἐλθὼν δὲ παρὰ Κῦρον χρήματα*

ᾔτει) in order to fit out his fleet. The sentence-initially placed conjunct participial clause does two things at the same time: it indicates that the text will be concerned with the same participant, i.e. Lysander, and it effects a *relocation*: the next scene takes place at the court of Cyrus. Apart from the referent performing the action, the information contained in the participial clause is entirely new: that Lysander went to Cyrus was not anticipated by anything in the preceding context. We thus have a progressive clause. Contrast for that matter the sentence-initial conjunct participle λαβὼν δέ, which, coming after ἔδωκε, may be said to contain at least contextually prepared and almost given information—'A giving the money' and 'B receiving it' resembles the reciprocal coupling discussed with respect to εἶπεν and ἀκούσας in Section 2.1 and διηγοῦνται and ἀκούσας in [17] above (this Section). In accordance with our rule of thumb that the lower the information status, the greater the text articulating function, λαβών, like ἀκούσας, helps to articulate a topic-switch here (Cyrus → back to Lysander).

The participial clause ἐλθὼν δὲ παρὰ Κῦρον, then, expresses new information at the start of a new text segment (a new DU: note δέ). There is a text-boundary, but *not* a thematic boundary: although the new DU takes place at a different location, spatial organization is not what the discourse is concerned with here.

Let us consider each of the coherence strands separately.

The *temporal* setting remains unchanged throughout. From τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει onwards, narrative time is propelled forward not by specific (temporal) reference, but through the sequence of actions from which an imaginary time-line can be reconstructed. The passage is not temporally organized at all.

The *spatial* setting varies throughout. We start at Ephesus, but already in the same sentence we arrive at Antandrus. Then 'the camera shifts' to the court of Cyrus. Then the precise spatial setting becomes blurred; in the final sentence we also learn about the preparations of the Athenian generals at Samos. So, evidently, the passage is not organized according to its locations.

As regards participants, we have Lysander, who is the continuous topic of the first two DU's. We then have a topic-switch, marked in the left sentence margin of the third DU (ὁ δ'). A second topic-switch occurs, as said, with λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Λύσανδρος; in the final sentence, however, the Athenian generals appear on the stage, but not as a

topic: note that it is the verb (παρεσκευάζοντο) that occupies the sentence-initial position before δέ. This is not unimportant, for although the passage is concerned with its participants to a high degree, it illustrates that the underlying discourse-topic is 'preparations' of the fleet.[39] The *theme* of the passage is 'refitting the fleet'. Although it is built up out of five 'succesive steps' (five DU's marked by δέ), these units are all sub-paragraphs of a larger, thematically continuous whole.

It is for this reason, in my opinion, that the information that Lysander went to Cyrus (ἐλθὼν δὲ παρὰ Κῦρον) is expressed by way of a participial clause, and not by a subclause. A subclause *ἐπεὶ δὲ παρὰ Κῦρον ἦλθε would have resulted in thematic segmentation, which is uncalled for in the present context.

[19] *Hellenica* 5.3.25
*ἐπεὶ δὲ ἧκον ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ἀπαγγέλλοντες ὅτι ἡ πόλις ἐπιτρέποι Ἀγησιλάῳ διαγνῶναι τὰ ἐν Φλειοῦντι ὅπως αὐτῷ δοκοίη, Ἀγησίλαος δὴ οὕτως ἔγνω, πεντήκοντα μὲν ἄνδρας τῶν κατεληλυθότων, πεντήκοντα δὲ τῶν οἴκοθεν πρῶτον μὲν ἀνακρῖναι ὅντινά τε ζῆν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ὅντινα ἀποθανεῖν δίκαιον εἴη· ἔπειτα δὲ νόμους θεῖναι, καθ' οὓς πολιτεύσοιντο· ἕως δ' ἂν ταῦτα διαπράξωνται, φυλακὴν καὶ μισθὸν τοῖς φρουροῖς ἓξ μηνῶν κατέλιπε.* ***ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας*** *τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους ἀφῆκε, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν οἴκαδε ἀπήγαγε.*

*καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Φλειοῦντα οὕτως αὖ ἐπετετέλεστο ἐν ὀκτὼ μησὶ καὶ ἐνιαυτῷ.*

Upon the arriving of messengers from Lacedaemon with word that the state left it to Agesilaus to decide as he thought best upon matters in Phlius, Agesilaus decided in this way—that fifty men from the restored exiles and fifty from the people at home should, in the first place, make inquiry to determine who ought justly to be left alive in the city and who ought to be put to death, and, secondly, should draw up a constitution under which to conduct the government; and until such time as these matters should be settled, he left behind him a garrison and six months' pay for those who composed it. **Having done these things**, he dismissed the allies and led his citizen troops back home.

And thus the affair of Phlius in its turn came to a conclusion, after a year and eight months.

In [19], the participial clause ***ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας***—a conjunct participle, since Agesilaus is a continuous topic—occurs at a point

[39] For a verbal constituent as a topic, cf. Dik, 1995: Chapter 7.

where a thematically larger whole is closed off: the matrix clause *τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους ἀφῆκε, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν οἴκαδε ἀπήγαγε* is, by virtue of its content, a closure-marker: "whereas in narrative discourse the setting is often used to reset the time or the place of a new paragraph, the terminus is often used to take one main participant off the stage or to indicate a lapse of time. The terminus often contains verbs of motion such as *he went away* or *he went off and slept* or he waited until the next day or something on that order" (Longacre, 1979: 118). The evaluative sentence added by **καί**, too, is indicative of closure. The participial clause **ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας** could easily be missed from an informational point of view: 'Agesilaus took the necessary measures and then dismissed the allies and led his citizen troops back home' makes a perfectly understandable sequence. Since, however, the paragraph describes the measures Agesilaus took in reaction to the report coming from his home state at length (*οὕτως ἔγνω* … *κατέλιπε*), there seems to be some reluctance on the part of the narrator to continue with a bare main clause, at the point of transition from the description of the measures taken by Agesilaus to a sentence belonging to the narrative assertion that is about to close off this paragraph. Therefore, the participial clause **ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας** is inserted to facilitate this transition and make for textual coherence within the paragraph, to the extent that it is suggested to the reader/hearer that is was Agesilaus who actually did what whas necessary to do, with which measures the proper point to break up is reached.

[20] *Anabasis* 3.1.5-7
*ὁ μέντοι Ξενοφῶν ἀναγνοὺς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀνακοινοῦται Σωκράτει τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ περὶ τῆς πορείας. καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ὑποπτεύσας μή τι πρὸς τῆς πόλεως ὑπαίτιον εἴη Κύρῳ φίλον γενέσθαι, ὅτι ἐδόκει ὁ Κῦρος προθύμως τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας συμπολεμῆσαι, συμβουλεύει τῷ Ξενοφῶντι ἐλθόντα εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνακοινῶσαι τῷ θεῷ περὶ τῆς πορείας.* ***ἐλθὼν δ'*** *ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐπήρετο τὸν Ἀπόλλω τίνι ἂν θεῶν θύων καὶ εὐχόμενος κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα ἔλθοι τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν ἐπινοεῖ καὶ καλῶς πράξας σωθείη. καὶ ἀνεῖλεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀπόλλων θεοῖς οἷς ἔδει θύειν.*

*ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἦλθε, λέγει τὴν μαντείαν τῷ Σωκράτει. ὁ δ' ἀκούσας ᾐτιᾶτο αὐτὸν ὅτι οὐ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἠρώτα πότερον λῷον εἴη αὐτῷ πορεύεσθαι ἢ μένειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς κρίνας ἰτέον εἶναι τοῦτ' ἐπυνθάνετο ὅπως ἂν κάλλιστα πορευθείη. ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὕτως ἤρου, ταῦτ', ἔφη, χρὴ ποιεῖν ὅσα ὁ θεὸς ἐκέλευσεν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Ξενοφῶν οὕτω θυσάμενος οἷς ἀνεῖλεν ὁ θεὸς ἐξέπλει, καὶ καταλαμβάνει ἐν*

*Σάρδεσι Πρόξενον καὶ Κῦρον μέλλοντας ἤδη ὁρμᾶν τὴν ἄνω ὁδόν, καὶ συνεστάθη Κύρῳ.*

Xenophon read Proxenus' letter and conferred with Socrates, the Athenian, about the proposed journey; and Socrates, suspecting that his becoming a friend of Cyrus might be a cause for accusation against Xenophon on the part of the Athenian government, for the reason that Cyrus was thought to have given the Lacedaemonians zealous aid in their war against Athens, advised Xenophon to go to Delphi and consult the god with regard to this journey. Xenophon **went** and asked Apollo to whom of the gods he should sacrifice and pray in order best and most successfully to perform the journey which he had in mind and to meet with good fortune and return home in safety; and Apollo in his response told him to what gods he must sacrifice.

When he had returned from Delphi, Xenophon reported the oracle to Socrates; upon hearing about it Socrates found fault with him because he did not first put the question whether it were better for him to go or stay, but decided for himself that he was to go and then asked the god as to the best way of going. "However," he added, "inasmuch as you did put the question in that way, you must do all that the god directed." Xenophon accordingly offered the sacrifices to the gods that Apollo's oracle prescribed, and set sail; and he overtook Proxenus and Cyrus at Sardis as they were on the point of beginning the upward march, and was introduced to Cyrus.

Xenophon discusses the proposed journey with Socrates, who advises him to go to Delphi and consult the god (*ἐλθόντα εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνακοινῶσαι τῷ θεῷ*); Xenophon goes (*ἐλθὼν δ'*); the (continuative) participial clause continues an event sequence set in motion by Socrates's advice. His return is expressed in the subclause *ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἦλθε*, which marks the boundary between the two phases of this passage: their first encounter (Socrates's advice and Xenophon's response to that) and their second encounter (evaluation of Xenophon's way of putting the question). The subclause *ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἦλθε*, then, operates on the level of text articulation *and* the level of the Real World construction: it marks a rather deep caesura, as the textual boundary is at the same time a thematic boundary. The participial clause *ἐλθὼν δ'* merely articulates a textual boundary at the onset of a sub-section of the first thematic unit.

[21] *Hellenica* 6.2.31
*περὶ δὲ τὸν Μνασίππου θάνατον ἐτύγχανεν ὢν τῆς Λακωνικῆς περὶ τὰς Σφαγίας.* ***εἰς τὴν Ἠλείαν δὲ ἀφικόμενος*** *καὶ παραπλεύσας τὸ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ στόμα ὑπὸ τὸν Ἰχθῦν καλούμενον ὡρμίσατο. τῇ δ'*

*ὑστεραίᾳ ἐντεῦθεν ἀνήγετο ἐπὶ τῆς Κεφαλληνίας, οὕτω καὶ τεταγμένος καὶ τὸν πλοῦν ποιούμενος ὡς, εἰ δέοι, πάντα ὅσα χρὴ παρεσκευασμένος ναυμαχοίη. καὶ γὰρ τὰ περὶ τοῦ Μνασίππου αὐτόπτου μὲν οὐδενὸς ἠκηκόει, ὑπώπτευε δὲ μὴ ἀπάτης ἕνεκα λέγοιτο, καὶ ἐφυλάττετο· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Κεφαλληνίαν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ σαφῶς ἐπύθετο, καὶ ἀνέπαυε τὸ στράτευμα.*

At the time of Mnasippus' death Iphicrates chanced to be in Laconia near the Sphagiae. **He arrived in Elis** and sailed past the mouth of the Alpheus, and he anchored beneath the promontory called Ichthys. From there he put to sea on the following day for Cephallenia, having his fleet in such order and making the voyage in such a way that, if it should be necessary to fight, he should be ready in all essential respects to do so. For he had not heard the news of Mnasippus' death from any eyewitness, but suspected that it was told to deceive him, and hence was on his guard; upon his arriving at Cephallenia, however, he there got definite information, and so rested his forces.

The example presents two preposed, sentence-initially placed subordinate clauses containing a verb form of *ἀφικνέομαι*: a (progressive) participial clause and a (continuative) subclause. The example illustrates my view that even when the content of the clause is in itself indicative of a change of the spatial setting, a participial clause is used for small-scale segmentation at just the level of text articulation when the relocation is not thematic in nature, and that a subclause is used when the relocation involves thematic segmentation.

The passage is taken from a longer episode dedicated to Iphicrates's tactics (6.2.27-31). The narrator focuses extensively on the actions of one participant that he personally approves of, rather than taking the point of view of the neutral historian, which warrants some kind of apology on his part (6.2.32): *οἶδα μὲν οὖν ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα, ὅταν οἴωνται ναυμαχήσειν ἄνθρωποι, καὶ ἀσκεῖται καὶ μελετᾶται· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἐπαινῶ, ὅτι ἐπεὶ ἀφικέσθαι ταχὺ ἔδει ἔνθα τοῖς πολεμίοις ναυμαχήσειν ᾤετο, ηὕρετο †ὅπως μήτε διὰ τὸν πλοῦν ἀνεπιστήμονας εἶναι τῶν εἰς ναυμαχίαν μήτε διὰ τὸ ταῦτα μελετᾶν βραδύτερόν τι ἀφικέσθαι* ('now I am aware that all these matters of practice and training are customary whenever men expect to engage in a battle by sea, but that which I commend in Iphicrates is this, that when it was incumbent upon him to arrive speedily at the place where he supposed he should fight with the enemy, he discovered † a way to keep his men from being either, by reason of the voyage they had made, unskilled in the tactics of fighting at sea, or, by reason of their

having been trained in such tactics, any the more tardy in arriving at their destination'). In the passage cited, the central point is the way in which Iphicrates sailed to Cephallenia: *οὕτω καὶ τεταγμένος καὶ τὸν πλοῦν ποιούμενος ὡς, εἰ δέοι, πάντα ὅσα χρὴ παρεσκευασμένος ναυμαχοίη*. For although he had heard the news of Mnasippus's death, it was not from any eyewitness, so he was on his guard not to be deceived. Thus, the passage is participant/action oriented, and not spatially or temporally organized.

In the light of this we can understand that his arriving at Elis is mentioned in a (progressive) participial clause. In this context, the place is not thematically important: Iphicrates only passes through Elis on his way to Cephallenia for which location he sets out immediately the next day. As said, the passage is mainly about the way in which he sailed to Cephallenia, unaware of the actual situation. Cephallenia is in fact a thematically important place, for it is there (note the anaphoric adverb *ἐνταῦθα* + *δή*) that he receives confirmation of Mnasippus's death. The use of *μέντοι* further illustrates that Iphicrates's arriving at Cephallenia marks the point at which his suspicions were proved false. Iphicrates's arriving at Cephallenia is of higher importance in this specific context than his arriving at Elis.

The passage, then, pivots around the subclause: on his way to Cephallenia a situation obtained in which he showed supreme caution, but once Cephallenia was reached, he learned the truth and acted accordingly. Again we find that the participial clause is used at the onset of a DU that is part of a larger thematic structure, whereas the use of the subclause coincides with a thematic boundary, and is used for segmentation on the level of the Real World construction.

### 4.3.3 *Special Cases of Thematic Continuity*

Finally, the role participial clauses in general may play in the organization of the construction of the text, rather than that of the story, is especially clear in those cases where the narrator, by using a resumptive participial clause, picks up an action already recorded, after he has inserted some chunk of information that does not belong to the narrative assertion. Here, it is evident that we are still in the same thematic paragraph, and that the participial clause is used to take the reader/hearer back to the point that was reached before the narrator digressed from the narrative line, in order to add

information. The participial clause, then, helps the reader/hearer to understand how the narrator has constructed his *text*.[40] The (present stem) genitive absolute and the conjunct participle in the accusative case in [22] and [23], respectively, are examples of this, while they also illustrate, in slightly different ways, how the formal characteristics of a certain clause correspond to its function in discourse.

[22] *Hellenica* 1.4.12-13
*ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑώρα* (*sc.* Alcibiades) *ἑαυτῷ εὔνουν οὖσαν καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν ᾑρημένον καὶ ἰδίᾳ μεταπεμπομένους τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους,* ***κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ*** *ἡμέρᾳ ᾗ Πλυντήρια ἦγεν ἡ πόλις, τοῦ ἕδους κατακεκαλυμμένου τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ὅ τινες οἰωνίζοντο ἀνεπιτήδειον εἶναι καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ πόλει. Ἀθηναίων γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὐδενὸς σπουδαίου ἔργου τολμῆσαι ἂν ἅψασθαι.* ***καταπλέοντος δ᾽ αὐτοῦ*** *ὅ τε ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς καὶ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ὄχλος ἠθροίσθη πρὸς τὰς ναῦς, θαυμάζοντες καὶ ἰδεῖν βουλόμενοι τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην...*

He found that that the temper of the Athenians was kindly, that he was chosen general, and that his friends were urging him by personal messages to return, and therefore **he sailed in to Piraeus** on the day when the city was celebrating the Plynteria—the statue of Athena was veiled from sight, a circumstance which some people imagined was of ill omen, both for him and for the state; for on that day no Athenian would venture to engage in any serious business. **When he sailed in**, the common crowd of Piraeus and of the city gathered to his ships, filled with wonder and desiring to see the famous Alcibiades...

[23] *Anabasis* 1.8.26-27
*σὺν τούτοις δὲ ὢν καθορᾷ* (*sc.* Cyrus) *βασιλέα καὶ τὸ ἀμφ᾽ ἐκεῖνον στῖφος· καὶ εὐθὺς οὐκ ἠνέσχετο, ἀλλ᾽ εἰπὼν Τὸν ἄνδρα ὁρῶ ἵετο ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ* ***παίει*** *κατὰ τὸ στέρνον καὶ τιτρώσκει διὰ τοῦ θώρακος, ὥς φησι Κτησίας ὁ ἰατρός, καὶ ἰᾶσθαι αὐτὸς τὸ τραῦμά φησι.* ***παίοντα δ᾽ αὐτὸν*** *ἀκοντίζει τις παλτῷ ὑπὸ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν βιαίως·*

Attended by these only, he caught sight of the King and the compact body around him; and on the instant he lost control of himself and, with the cry "I see the man," rushed upon him and **struck** him in the breast and wounded him through his breastplate—as Ctesias the physician says, adding also that he himself healed the wound. **While**

[40] Contrast the subclause *ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα* in [7] above, in which information that on its first occurrence constituted a thematic boundary is restated.

> **Cyrus was delivering his stroke**, someone hit him a hard blow under the eye with a javelin…

A feature shared by these examples is the restatement of a verbal action, while narrative time is not propelled forward from the first occurrence onwards. In [22], the speaker refers to a terminative action that reached its end with the aorist main verb *κατέπλευσεν* + *εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ*; a temporal adverbial follows (*ἡμέρᾳ ᾗ Πλυντήρια ἦγεν ἡ πόλις*), to which several pieces of information are added that do not belong to the narrative assertion (*τοῦ ἕδους κατακεκαλυμμένου τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς … ἂν ἅψασθαι*). Hereafter the narrator continues his narration not at the endpoint already reached, but at some earlier stage: he is going to tell us what happened in the course of this terminative action. Since some backgrounded material intervenes, a signal is needed to indicate the point from which the text continues. The resumptive genitive absolute performs this function (*κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ … καταπλέοντος δ' αὐτοῦ*: lexical overlap).

Example [23] shows a sentence-initially placed conjunct participial clause where, apart from the fact that the subject of the participial clause performs the function of the object in its matrix clause, at the same time the lexical overlap in *παίει … παίοντα* (it is the same action that is referred to twice) is a functional means of text articulation, in that it signals a return to the point where the speaker broke off to supply some information that lies outside the narrative assertion, i.e. *ὥς φησι Κτησίας ὁ ἰατρός, καὶ ἰᾶσθαι αὐτὸς τὸ τραῦμά φησι.*

## 5 *Conclusion*

In this Chapter the usage of preposed, predominantly sentence-initially placed *ἐπεί-*, *ἐπειδή-*, and *ὡς*-clauses and participles at points of segmentation was investigated. Both levels that are of relevance to discourse analysis as distinguished in Chapter 1, Section 2.1—the level of text articulation and the level of the Real World construction—were found to be involved in the articulation of discourse boundaries. Whether the boundaries that are created are just text-oriented boundaries, or are content-oriented boundaries as well, depends on the over-all organization of the discourse.

Over a span of several propositions, discourse may or may not maintain the same referent(s) or 'topic(s)', the same or contiguous location, the same or contiguous time, and/or sequential action. When changes occur, the text becomes thematically less coherent. A certain degree of 'situational' discontinuity is to be expected especially at points of text segmentation. Any break in the continuity of a Real World situation captured in narrative text may, in principle, very well be coded by a variety of linguistic means, including difference in clause type; the articulation of the text follows on the (re-)construction of Real World events. Although a break in the continuity of events, participants, time and/or place is very likely to create a boundary on the level of text articulation, it is not necessarily the case that a boundary on the level of the Real World construction is involved as well. Only when, at a specific point in the discourse, the organization of the content of the text is affected, depending on how the speaker/narrator wishes to present his Real World data at that particular point, are we allowed to speak of a thematic boundary.

In the case of preposed embedded predications, a low degree of desententialization of the clause corresponds to a high degree of linguistic coding, and *vice versa*. When the next Real World situation the speaker wants to describe makes the discourse discontinuous to a fairly high degree with respect to referents, time, place, or action-event sequence, the articulation of the text will predictably show a high degree of linguistic coding. Especially when the discourse is discontinuous with respect to several coherence strands at the same time, the weakly desententialized subclause is the vehicle to use, as it can contain several pieces of locally relevant information at once. An (only weakly desententialized) ἐπεί-, ἐπειδή-, or ὡς-clause tends to be used at thematic breaks. As was seen in Chapter 3, a subclause headed by the semantically non-specific relators ἐπεί, ἐπειδή, or ὡς primarily introduces a Real World situation as a factual statement, which the reader/hearer needs for a successful comprehension of the text. When the degree of discontinuity is high, the high degree of linguistic coding marks the thematic boundary, while the introduction of a (new) Real World situation in a subclause helps the reader/hearer in keeping track of the discourse perspective: he/she will interpret the embedded predication as initiating a new phase on the main narrative line; in the case of subclauses with a present stem verbal constituent, the sequel will be considered in view of the Real World situation

presented in the subclause, while in the case of subclauses with an aorist stem verbal constituent, the upcoming events will be regarded as following on the occurrence of the Real World situation presented in the subclause.

The less discontinuous the Real World situation at points of segmentation, the more we will find expressions that occupy a position to the right of the continuum of desententialization as presented in figure 2 (Section 3.1). At such boundaries, we find segmentation on the level of text articulation only. Often, the participial clause, especially a resumptive or continuative conjunct participle or genitive absolute, makes for textual coherence at points where a small-scale textual boundary is articulated within an otherwise continuous thematic whole. Whereas it was shown that conjunct participles are predominantly used in situations of both anaphoric and cataphoric referential continuity, the genitive absolute, being less strongly desententialized than the conjunct participle, is used especially as a minimally necessary linguistic device to secure textual coherence when two textual units are segmented (and/or linked); if at such a point there is discontinuity at all, it does not affect the current story line. Generally, preposed participial clauses are used in order to prevent the reader/hearer from experiencing a textual boundary as a thematic boundary.

On the basis of the findings presented in this chapter we are warned that the context is crucial for our understanding of the speaker's choice between a subclause and a participial clause. In the case of sentence-initially placed subordinate clauses the speaker's choice is directly related to the constitution of the discourse episode of which it forms part, and is therewith indicative of a certain discourse strategy. It would seem, however, that by examining the effect of the different strategies, we have succeeded in signaling certain regularities that have not as yet received full consideration in the description of a *text grammar* for Ancient Greek.

CHAPTER FIVE

# CLAUSE COMBINING AND INFORMATION PROCESSING

## *Introduction*

In this Chapter, I shall discuss two different syntactical features that on the basis of our findings thus far warrant a separate discussion. In both cases, the influence of the information flow in on-going discourse on the choice of a particular clause type comes into play. Section 1 is about postposed embedded predications which may receive a 'causal' interpretation. Postposed clauses have already been discussed in Chapter 3, where the differences between semantically specific and non-specific relators was at issue; the question that will concern us here is what factors determine the distribution of postposed 'causal' ἐπεί-/ἐπειδή-clauses[1] and postposed participial clauses.

In Section 2 I shall concern myself with the use of a genitive absolute construction where, from the point of view of *sentence-syntax*, a conjunct participle would have been an alternative option.

## 1 *Postposed Embedded Predications*

'Postposed' embedded predications are subclauses and participial clauses that follow their matrix clause. A question that should be asked with respect to postposed clauses is why the clause is postposed at all. A thorough analysis of the context usually makes it clear that reversal of the order of a postposed clause and its matrix clause would result in an undesirable sequence of the pieces of information that are presented—undesirable in view of the information flow in a sentence and/or discourse episode.

I give two examples, of a postposed conjunct participle and a postposed genitive absolute construction, respectively:

[1] Postposed ὡς-clauses are generally not considered to be 'causal', and are therefore disregarded here.

[1] *Anabasis* 1.8.28-29

*Ἀρταπάτης δ' ὁ πιστότατος αὐτῷ τῶν σκηπτούχων θεράπων λέγεται, ἐπειδὴ πεπτωκότα εἶδε Κῦρον, καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου περιπεσεῖν αὐτῷ. καὶ οἱ μέν φασι βασιλέα κελεῦσαί τινα ἐπισφάξαι αὐτὸν Κύρῳ, οἱ δ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπισφάξασθαι* ***σπασάμενον τὸν ἀκινάκην****· εἶχε γὰρ χρυσοῦν· καὶ στρεπτὸν δ' ἐφόρει καὶ ψέλια καὶ τἆλλα ὥσπερ οἱ ἄριστοι Περσῶν· ἐτετίμητο γὰρ ὑπὸ Κύρου δι' εὔνοιάν τε καὶ πιστότητα.*

As for Artapates, the one among Cyrus' chamberlains who was his most faithful follower, of him it is told that when he saw Cyrus fallen, he leaped from his horse and threw his arms about him. And one report is that the King ordered someone to slay him upon the body of Cyrus, while others say that he slew himself with his own hand, **having drawn his dagger**; for he had one of gold; and he also wore a necklace and bracelets and all the other ornaments that the noblest Persians wear; for he had been honored by Cyrus because of his affection and fidelity.

Two contrasting reports of what happened to Artapates when he threw himself onto Cyrus are presented. Preposing the participial clause would be possible as far as the reported speech by 'the others' (*οἱ δ'*) is concerned; a sequence like *οἱ δὲ ⟨φασι⟩ σπασάμενον τὸν ἀκινάκην ἑαυτὸν ἐπισφάξασθαι* would have been syntactically correct and, in a text constituted differently, potentially appropriate; the interpretation would have been: 'others say that he drew his dagger and slew himself with his own hand'[2], which is in accordance with our knowledge in general that one first has to draw a dagger and then slay oneself (with it). The independently asserted narrative event expressed in the participial clause and the event expressed in its preceding matrix clause can be seen as 'in sequence' in the Real World.

It was already noted in Chapter 1, Section 2.2.1 that in a historical text, *ceteris paribus*, the order in which the events are narrated mirrors the speaker's perception of the succession in real time of the Real World 'happenings' they represent. Here, Xenophon did not place the participle before the matrix clause for two reasons, both pertaining to the information flow in the sentence and discourse. Firstly, by placing the participial clause behind its matrix clause, the main points of the utterances of the two reports are contrasted, *viz.*, *βασιλέα κελεῦσαί τινα ἐπισφάξαι αὐτὸν Κύρῳ* vs. *ἑαυτὸν*

[2] Thus Brownson (Loeb).

*ἐπισφάξασθαι*. Secondly, and more importantly, the natural order of events is suspended because it is an unusual situation: whereas drawing a dagger and slaying oneself would be natural in the case of, e.g., a soldier, a *σκηπτοῦχος* is supposed to bear a staff—not a pointed weapon. Placing the participle behind its matrix clause gives focus to the action, and facilitates the link with the sequel: that Artapates actually had a dagger of gold is presented in a *γάρ*-clause, which then paves the path for describing his other possessions.

[2] *Hellenica* 1.1.1-2
*μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἦλθεν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν Θυμοχάρης ἔχων ναῦς ὀλίγας· καὶ εὐθὺς ἐναυμάχησαν αὖθις Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐνίκησαν δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι* ***ἡγουμένου Ἀγησανδρίδου***. *μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ τούτων Δωριεὺς ὁ Διαγόρου ἐκ Ῥόδου εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον εἰσέπλει ἀρχομένου χειμῶνος τέτταρσι καὶ δέκα ναυσὶν ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ.*

After this, not many days later, Thymochares came from Athens with a few ships; and thereupon the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians fought another naval battle, and the Lacedaemonians were victorious, **under the leadership of Agesandridas**. Shortly after this, at the beginning of the winter, Dorieus, the son of Diagoras, sailed into the Hellespont from Rhodes with fourteen ships, arriving at daybreak.

If the genitive absolute had preceded its matrix clause here, the information that Agesandridas was the leader would be processed by the reader/hearer before he knew the Lacedaemonians were victorious; this order of clauses is possible only when there is something in the preceding discourse that calls for the information that Agesandridas was in charge to be processed first—which is not the case here. The matrix clause of the postposed genitive absolute immediately informs us who were victorious in the battle mentioned in the preceding sentence. The historian then adds a clause in order to inform us about their leader.

In examples [1] and [2] there is nothing in the context that would lead one to a 'causal' interpretation of the postposed participle. In the sequel, I shall concern myself with postposed *ἐπεί-/ἐπειδή*-clauses and participial clauses which may receive a 'causal' interpretation. One may ask what happens when the reader/hearer arrives at the end of a clause and is presented with a subclause that is postposed to it. He will reconsider the content of the matrix clause, with the aid of the information contained in the added clause, be it a subclause or a

participial clause. If the postposed embedded predication is an ἐπεί- or ἐπειδή-clause, this clause is marked by its relator as presenting information that is to be related to the content of its matrix clause; while the case marking of a conjunct participle identifies the constituent of the matrix clause to which the information is added, participial clauses are usually not headed by a relator. Still, because of its position in the sentence and therefore because of the information flow in the sentence, a postposed participial clause adds information to the content of the preceding clause. This observation raises questions regarding the contribution of the relator in the case of postposed subclauses, and the difference between postposed subclauses and postposed participial clauses in general. These will be discussed separately in Section 1.1 and 1.2.

### 1.1 *Postposed 'Causal' ἐπεί/ἐπειδή-clauses*

As the first example of this section, I present an ἐπειδή-clause taken from a piece of character portrayal in the *Anabasis*.

> [3] *Anabasis* 1.9.24
> *καὶ τὸ μὲν τὰ μεγάλα νικᾶν τοὺς φίλους εὖ ποιοῦντα* ***οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν, ἐπειδή γε καὶ δυνατώτερος ἦν·***
>
> To be sure, the fact that he (i.e. Cyrus) outdid his friends in the greatness of the benefits he conferred **is nothing surprising, inasmuch as he had greater means than they**.

The narrator's evaluating utterance *οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν* calls for substantiation. The factual statement presented in the ἐπειδή-clause expresses the relevant data (γε) that lead the narrator to express the matrix clause. The reader/hearer is invited to consider this Real World situation for the preceding utterance to become comprehensible.

The Real World data expressed in the ἐπειδή-clause should not be interpreted as the 'cause' of the content of the matrix clause; the content of the postposed subclause justifies the preceding utterance as a whole: 'it is by no means surprising that Cyrus outdid his friends in the greatness of the benefits he conferred, *and I can claim this in view of the fact that* he had greater means than they'. It is the utterance itself,

especially the fact that it is **οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν**, which triggers a justification. Therewith, the **ἐπειδή**-clause is a motivating clause.[3]

[4] *Anabasis* 1.3.9
*ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, τὰ μὲν δὴ Κύρου δῆλον ὅτι οὕτως ἔχει πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὥσπερ τὰ ἡμέτερα πρὸς ἐκεῖνον·* ***οὔτε γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἐκείνου ἔτι στρατιῶται, ἐπεί γε οὐ συνεπόμεθα αὐτῷ****, οὔτε ἐκεῖνος ἔτι ἡμῖν μισθοδότης.*

(Clearchus:) "Fellow-soldiers, it is clear that the relation of Cyrus to us is precisely the same as ours to him; that is, **we are no longer his soldiers, inasmuch as we decline to follow him**, and likewise he is no longer our paymaster".

The first statement of the speech may be somewhat enigmatic for the **στρατιῶται**, and therefore it is explained in the following **γάρ**-clause. The first member of the **οὔτε … οὔτε**-pair, in which it is stated that Clearchus and his soldiers are no longer Cyrus's soldiers is followed by an **ἐπεί**-clause. Clearchus's audience does consist of soldiers; in fact, they are addressed as such at the onset of the speech (**ἄνδρες στρατιῶται**). The message is that they are *no longer Cyrus's soldiers*, inasmuch as they do not follow him.

The logic behind this sequence can be described as follows: (1) a soldier is a person who follows the leader; (2) we do not follow Cyrus; *ergo* (3) we are not his soldiers. Premiss (1) is left unexpressed; premiss (2) is presented as a factual statement in the postposed **ἐπεί**-clause, while inference (3) is the point made in the matrix clause. Moreover, it is to be noted that this matrix clause is negated and contains the word **ἔτι**: we are *no longer* his soldiers. This is important in that the change of situation has triggered Clearchus's speech in the first place. Further, and more importantly for our investigation, it is the *change* of situation that has triggered the **ἐπεί**-clause. The content of the **ἐπεί**-clause justifies the claim made by Clearchus, whose rhetorical aim in this passage it is to try and persuade his men that they do not have to obey Cyrus any longer. The speaker thus invites his audience to comprehend the preceding utterance in the light of the Real World

[3] Motivating clauses have often been disregarded in the description of Ancient Greek syntax: "Les propositions de motif ne sont généralement pas mentionnées par les manuels scolaires, et quant aux grammaires scientifiques, elles ne les signalent que rarement, de façon non systématique, et souvant sans leur donner une appellation spéciale" (Muchnova, 1991: 135; see also Rijksbaron, 1976).

situation that, according to him, is true: ‘<whatever we do, what is relevant in this connection is that (*γε*)> we do not follow him’.

[5] *Anabasis* 5.6.35-36
*ἐντεῦθεν ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσαν οἱ Ἡρακλεῶται ὅτι ἐκπλεῖν δεδογμένον εἴη καὶ Ξενοφῶν αὐτὸς ἐπεψηφικὼς εἴη, τὰ μὲν πλοῖα πέμπουσι, τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἃ ὑπέσχοντο Τιμασίωνι καὶ Θώρακι ἐψευσμένοι ἦσαν [τῆς μισθοφορᾶς]. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐκπεπληγμένοι ἦσαν καὶ ἐδεδίεσαν τὴν στρατιὰν οἱ τὴν μισθοφορὰν ὑπεσχημένοι. παραλαβόντες οὖν οὗτοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγοὺς οἷς ἀνεκεκοίνωντο ἃ πρόσθεν ἔπραττον, πάντες δ' ἦσαν πλὴν Νέωνος τοῦ Ἀσιναίου, ὃς Χειρισόφῳ ὑπεστρατήγει, Χειρίσοφος δὲ οὔπω παρῆν, ἔρχονται πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα, καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι μεταμέλοι αὐτοῖς, καὶ* ***δοκοίη κράτιστον εἶναι πλεῖν εἰς Φᾶσιν**, **ἐπεὶ πλοῖα ἔστι***, *καὶ κατασχεῖν τὴν Φασιανῶν χώραν.*

After that, when the Heracleots learned that it had been decided to sail away, and that Xenophon himself had put the question to the vote, they did send the ships, but in the matter of the money they had promised to Timasion and Thorax they turned out to be deceivers. Consequently the men who had promised the pay were panic-stricken, and stood in fear of the army. They therefore took with them the other generals to whom they had communicated their earlier doings—namely, all the generals except Neon the Asinaean, who was acting as lieutenant for Cheirisophus because Cheirisophus had not yet returned—and came to Xenophon, with the message that they had changed their minds and **thought it was best to sail to the Phasis**, **inasmuch as there were ships at hand**, and seize the land of the Phasians.

The words of the speakers are presented by optatives in the *oratio obliqua* (*μεταμέλοι*, *δοκοίη*), but the mood of the finite verb of the *ἐπεί*-clause is unaffected: it is still an indicative. Following on a non-factual, evaluating, and, for the addressee, possibly debatable utterance (*δοκοίη κράτιστον εἶναι*), the *ἐπεί*-clause presents a factual statement: the ships are there (cf. *τὰ μὲν πλοῖα πέμπουσι* in line 2); this is literally what the speakers said. In this instance of indirect speech, then, the addressee Xenophon should comprehend the speaker's evaluating claim *κράτιστον εἶναι πλεῖν εἰς Φᾶσιν* in view of the Real World situation presented in the postposed subclause. Here too, the postposed subclause motivates (part of) the preceding utterance.

A postposed subclause with any tense stem may follow any sentence type[4] in order to justify the preceding utterance. Here is an example with an ἐπειδή-clause with the perfect stem following a directive:

[6] *Hellenica* 3.4.26
ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποιήσειε ταῦτα ἄνευ τῶν οἴκοι τελῶν, **σὺ δ' ἀλλά**, ἕως ἂν πύθῃ τὰ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, **μεταχώρησον**, ἔφη, **εἰς τὴν Φαρναβάζου**, **ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν σὸν ἐχθρὸν τετιμώρημαι.**

Agesilaus replied that he could not do this without the sanction of the authorities at home, and Tithraustes said, "**In any case**, until you receive word from the city, **go over into the territory of Pharnabazus, since I have taken vengeance upon your enemy**".

The postposed subclause is combined with a directive expression (μεταχώρησον ... εἰς τὴν Φαρναβάζου). Agesilaus is reluctant to act without the sanction of the authorities in Sparta, and Tithraustes suggests an action which may be performed in any case (δ' ἀλλά) in the meantime. In this context, the postposed subclause contains the Real World situation on the basis of which the speaker makes his recommendation. Rhetorical purposes are at issue: Tithraustes is trying to persuade Agesilaus to go over into Pharnabazus's territory, and is offering a justification for his suggestion.

[7] *Anabasis* 5.5.13-18
πρὸς ταῦτα ἀναστὰς Ξενοφῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἶπεν· "ἡμεῖς δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Σινωπεῖς, ἥκομεν ἀγαπῶντες ὅτι τὰ σώματα διεσωσάμεθα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα· οὐ γὰρ ἦν δυνατὸν ἅμα τε χρήματα ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθαι. καὶ νῦν ἐπεὶ εἰς τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ἤλθομεν, ἐν Τραπεζοῦντι μὲν—παρεῖχον γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀγοράν—ὠνούμενοι εἴχομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ ἀνθ' ὧν ἐτίμησαν ἡμᾶς καὶ ξένια ἔδωκαν τῇ στρατιᾷ, ἀντετιμῶμεν αὐτούς, καὶ εἴ τις αὐτοῖς φίλος ἦν τῶν βαρβάρων, τούτων ἀπειχόμεθα· τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους αὐτῶν ἐφ' οὓς αὐτοὶ ἡγοῖντο κακῶς ἐποιοῦμεν ὅσον

[4] In *Anabasis* 5.8.11 τί οὖν; ἔφη, ἧττόν τι ἀπέθανεν, **ἐπεὶ ἐγώ σοι ἀπέδειξα αὐτόν;** ("Well, what of that", the fellow said; "did he die to a lesser extent **in view of he fact that I showed him to you?**"—Loeb: "didn't he die all the same after I had shown him to you"), the postposed clause cannot be missed for the matrix clause to be comprehensible. By using ἐπεί, the speaker relates the factual statement 'I showed him to you' to his leading question, to the effect that a single complex proposition ensues. On its own, the question ἧττόν τι ἀπέθανεν would not have been comprehensible. The ἐπεί-clause may therefore be said to be 'bound'; against the practice of most editors, I would recommend to remove the comma after ἀπέθανεν.

> ἐδυνάμεθα. ἐρωτᾶτε δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁποίων τινῶν ἡμῶν ἔτυχον· πάρεισι γὰρ ἐνθάδε οὓς ἡμῖν ἡγεμόνας διὰ φιλίαν ἡ πόλις ξυνέπεμψεν. ὅποι δ᾽ ἂν ἐλθόντες ἀγορὰν μὴ ἔχωμεν, ἄν τε εἰς βάρβαρον γῆν ἄν τε εἰς ῾Ελληνίδα, *οὐχ ὕβρει ἀλλὰ ἀνάγκῃ λαμβάνομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια*. καὶ Καρδούχους καὶ Ταόχους καὶ Χαλδαίους καίπερ βασιλέως οὐχ ὑπηκόους ὄντας ὅμως καὶ μάλα φοβεροὺς ὄντας πολεμίους ἐκτησάμεθα **διὰ τὸ ἀνάγκην εἶναι λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἐπεὶ ἀγορὰν οὐ παρεῖχον**. Μάκρωνας δὲ καίπερ βαρβάρους ὄντας, *ἐπεὶ ἀγορὰν οἵαν ἐδύναντο παρεῖχον*, φίλους τε ἐνομίζομεν εἶναι καὶ βίᾳ οὐδὲν ἐλαμβάνομεν τῶν ἐκείνων…"
>
> In reply to these words Xenophon, on behalf of the soldiers, rose and said: "For ourselves, men of Sinope, we have come back well content to have saved our bodies and our arms; for it was not possible at one and the same time to gather plunder and to fight with the enemy. As to our doings now, since we have reached Greek cities, we got our provisions in Trapezus *by purchase—for the Trapezuntians provided us a market*—, and in return for the honors they bestowed upon us and the gifts of hospitality they gave the army, we paid them like honors; if any of the barbarians were their friends, we kept our hands off them, while upon their enemies, against whom they would themselves lead us, we wrought all the harm we could. Ask them what sort of people they found us to be; for the men are here present whom the city of Trapezus, out of friendship, sent with us as guides. On the other hand, where-ever we come, whether it be to a barbarian or to a Greek land, and have no market at which to buy, we take provisions, *not out of wantonness, but from necessity*. The Carduchians, for example, and the Taochians and Chaldaeans though they were not subjects of the King, even so, even though they were exceedingly formidable, we made enemies of them **because of this necessity of taking provisions, inasmuch as they did not provide a market**. The Macronians, however, *provided us as good a market as they could*, and we therefore regarded them as friends, barbarians though they were, and took by force not a thing that belonged to them".

Example [7] is part of a speech by Xenophon; "der zweite (Haupt-)Abschnitt [14-19] erlaütert die Konsequenzen, die sich aus der Verpflegungsproblematik ergeben" (Lendle, 1995: 336). The theme of the part of the speech under consideration is adequately formulated by Lendle (1995: 337) as: "Die Alternative, die hinsichtlich der Lebensmittelversorgung überhaupt nur bestand, lautet: entweder Einrichtung eines Marktes oder gewaltsame Requisition—und zwar unabhängig von der Volkszugehörigkeit der Bewoner des Landes, durch welches der Marsch führte".

The question of whether a market was provided is therefore a discourse topic, and is referred to throughout: *παρεῖχον γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀγοράν ... ἐπεὶ ἀγορὰν οὐ παρεῖχον ... ἐπεὶ ἀγορὰν οἵαν ἐδύναντο παρεῖχον*. In the sentence *καὶ Καρδούχους καὶ Ταόχους καὶ Χαλδαίους καίπερ βασιλέως οὐχ ὑπηκόους ὄντας ὅμως καὶ μάλα φοβεροὺς ὄντας πολεμίους ἐκτησάμεθα διὰ τὸ ἀνάγκην εἶναι λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἐπεὶ ἀγορὰν οὐ παρεῖχον*, we are informed that the Greeks have made enemies of the Carduchians, the Taochians and Chaldaeans, although these people were not subjects of the King and even though they were formidable. This was caused by the *necessity* of *taking* provisions (*διὰ τὸ ἀνάγκην εἶναι λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια*)—instead of the alternative, *buying* them (*ὠνέομαι*, cf. *ὠνούμενοι*). In his presentation of events the speaker stresses the fact that they did not act out of *ὕβρις*.

The postposed subclause *ἐπεὶ ἀγορὰν οὐ παρεῖχον* does not present a 'cause' of the content of the preceding clause; it is a motivating clause used by the speaker to justify the preceding, possibly debatable, evaluating utterance: 'we made enemies of the Carduchians, the Taochians and Chaldaeans out of the necessity of taking provisions, *and I can actually claim that it was necessary to take them, given the reality situation:* they did not provide a market'. The *ἐπεί*-clause presents the relevant data from the Real World; compare the following *ἐπεὶ ἀγορὰν οἵαν ἐδύναντο παρεῖχον* as the motive for the Greeks' friendly behavior towards the—barbarian—Macronians.

The evaluating utterance *τὸ ἀνάγκην εἶναι* resembles the, doubtlessly debatable, evaluation *ἠναγκάσθην διώκειν* of Chapter 3, Section 2, example [25], which is reproduced here as [8]:

> [8] *Anabasis* 3.3.11-13
> *ἔνθα δὴ πάλιν ἀθυμία ἦν. καὶ Χειρίσοφος καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν στρατηγῶν Ξενοφῶντα ᾐτιῶντο ὅτι ἐδίωκεν ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος καὶ αὐτός τε ἐκινδύνευε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐδύνατο βλάπτειν. ἀκούσας δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἔλεγεν ὅτι ὀρθῶς αἰτιῷντο καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς μαρτυροίη.* "***ἀλλ' ἐγώ***", *ἔφη*, "***ἠναγκάσθην διώκειν, ἐπειδὴ ἑώρων ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ μένειν κακῶς μὲν πάσχοντας, ἀντιποιεῖν δὲ οὐ δυναμένους.*** *ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδιώκομεν, ἀληθῆ, ἔφη, ὑμεῖς λέγετε· κακῶς μὲν γὰρ ποιεῖν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐδυνάμεθα τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀνεχωροῦμεν δὲ παγχαλέπως...*"
>
> Here again there was despondency. And Cheirisophus and the eldest of the generals found fault with Xenophon for leaving the main body of

the army to undertake a pursuit, and thus endangering himself without being able, for all that, to do the enemy any harm. Upon hearing this, Xenophon replied that they were right in finding fault with him, and that the outcome bore witness of itself for their view. "**But**", he continued, "**I was compelled to pursue in view of the fact that I saw that by keeping our places we were suffering severely and were still unable to strike a blow ourselves.** As for the pursuit itself, you are quite right: we were no better able to inflict harm upon the enemy, and it was only with the utmost difficulty that we effected our own withdrawal..."

It was noted in Chapter 3, Section 2 that the claim *ἠναγκάσθην διώκειν* will raise a question on the part of his audience (Cheirisophus and the eldest of the generals), since in the speech situation the speaker is criticized for having undertaken the pursuit in the first place. In the postposed *ἐπειδή*-clause, the speaker presents a Real World situation that should make the preceding claim that he was compelled to undertake the pursuit *acceptable* to his interlocutors. Whether this will please the generals is at this point still to be seen; in the postposed subclause the speaker describes the situation that obtained at the time from his perspective (*ἑώρων*).

The *ἐπειδή*-clause may be seen as a motivating clause justifying the utterance *ἠναγκάσθην διώκειν*. At any rate, the fact that he saw that he and his fellow soldiers were suffering severely by keeping their places and were still unable to strike a blow themselves is presented as the speaker's *motive* for undertaking the pursuit, the action expressed by the infinitive *διώκειν*. It is the speaker's motive, then, which should make his behavior acceptable.

As the verbal constituent is left unexpressed, the interpretation of the following postposed subclause is far from simple:

[9] *Hellenica* 1.4.6-7
*Φαρνάβαζος δὲ τέως μὲν κατεῖχε τοὺς πρέσβεις, φάσκων τοτὲ μὲν ἀνάξειν αὐτοὺς παρὰ βασιλέα, τοτὲ δὲ οἴκαδε ἀποπέμψειν, ὡς μηδὲν μέμψησθε·*[5] *ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐνιαυτοὶ ἦσαν τρεῖς,*[6] *ἐδεήθη τοῦ Κύρου ἀφεῖναι αὐτούς, φάσκων* ***ὀμωμοκέναι καὶ ἀπάξειν ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ἐπειδὴ οὐ παρὰ βασιλέα.***

Pharnabazus detained the ambassadors for a time, now saying that he would conduct them to the King, and again, that he would let them go home, 'in order that you have nothing to complain'; three years later,

[5] *μεμψεσθε* W *πέμψηται* B *μέμψηται* rell.
[6] *ἐπεὶ* F[1]V; *ησαν τρεις* W *τρεῖς ἦσαν* codd.

he (Pharnabazus) requested Cyrus to release them, on the plea that **he had given his oath to conduct them back to the coast, inasmuch as <he could> not <take them> to the King.**

While the discourse is concerned with the contrast between *ἐπὶ θάλατταν* and *παρὰ βασιλέα* (cf. the clause *φάσκων τοτὲ μὲν ἀνάξειν αὐτοὺς παρὰ βασιλέα, τοτὲ δὲ οἴκαδε ἀποπέμψειν*), the postposed clause *ἐπειδὴ οὐ παρὰ βασιλέα* should explain *ὀμωμοκέναι καὶ ἀπάξειν ἐπὶ θάλατταν*. However condensed the expression may be, we can still arrive at a plausible interpretation on the basis of our findings thus far. The subclause should contain a Real World situation that is added as a justification for (part of) the preceding utterance. As *οὐ παρὰ βασιλέα* is used as an addition to the infinitive dependent on *φάσκων*, it must relate to the words spoken by the subject of this participle, *viz.*, Pharnabazus. If *οὐ παρὰ βασιλέα* is a factual statement, which it has to be given the usage of postposed *ἐπειδή*-clauses in general, it must mean 'taking (*ἀνάγειν*) the ambassadors to the King was not the case, i.e. was not an option: <it was> not <possible to take them> to the King. The content of the postposed *ἐπειδή*-clause, then, presents a justification for Pharnabazus's wording: 'I speak of a conduct back to the coast in view of the fact that a journey to the King is out of the question'.

In all instances thus far ([3] - [9]), the postposed *ἐπεί-/ἐπειδή*-clause was used in a non-narrative episode, involving speech situations of different kinds: direct ([4]; [6] - [8]) and indirect ([5]; [9]) quotations, or character portrayal [3]. Here, they are motivating clauses that present a factual statement about the Real World justifying (part of) the preceding utterance itself. In example [10], we do not have a speech-situation but a narrative sequence.

[10] *Hellenica* 5.1.13
*ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥσπερ ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ἔπλεον τὴν θάλατταν· **οὐδὲ** γὰρ τῷ Ἐτεονίκῳ **ἤθελον** οἱ ναῦται καίπερ ἀναγκάζοντι ἐμβάλλειν, **ἐπεὶ μισθὸν οὐκ ἐδίδου**. ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Τελευτίαν αὖ † ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἐκπέμπουσιν † ἐπὶ ταύτας τὰς ναῦς ναύαρχον.*

After this the Athenians sailed the sea just as in time of peace, for the Lacedaemonian sailors **refused** to row for Eteonicus, even though he tried to compel them to do so, **inasmuch as he did not give them pay**. After this the Lacedaemonians sent out Teleutias again to take command of these ships as admiral.

After the information that the Athenians sailed the sea just as in time of peace, the reader/hearer may wonder how this situation came about. This question is anticipated by means of a *γάρ*-clause, in which it is stated that the Lacedaemonian sailors definitely did not want to row for Eteonicus (*οὐδέ ... ἤθελον*: a position). The fact that they refused is rather unexpected and even surprising[7] if we consider that Eteonicus tried to force them (*καίπερ ἀναγκάζοντι*). By presenting the information that Eteonicus did not pay the sailors in a postposed subclause headed by *ἐπεί*, the narrator indicates that the reader/hearer will comprehend the *content* of the preceding clause (*οὐδὲ γὰρ τῷ Ἐτεονίκῳ ἤθελον οἱ ναῦται καίπερ ἀναγκάζοντι ἐμβάλλειν*) on the basis of this factual statement (*μισθὸν οὐκ ἐδίδου*). Eventually, the reader/hearer will interpret the content of the postposed *ἐπεί*-clause as the sailors' *motive* for refusing to row.

To my mind, a postposed clause can only be interpreted as containing a motive when the matrix clause contains a 'control'-verb, i.e. an *action* or a *position*. The decision for the speaker to express a participant's motive is inspired by the unexpectedness of the action or position *in its context*. Here is another example of this:

> [11] *Anabasis* 1.2.21
> *ἐντεῦθεν ἐπειρῶντο εἰσβάλλειν εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν· ἡ δὲ εἰσβολὴ ἦν ὁδὸς ἁμαξιτὸς ὀρθία ἰσχυρῶς καὶ ἀμήχανος εἰσελθεῖν στρατεύματι, εἴ τις ἐκώλυεν. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ Συέννεσις εἶναι ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων φυλάττων τὴν εἰσβολήν· διὸ ἔμεινεν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἧκεν ἄγγελος λέγων ὅτι* ***λελοιπὼς εἴη Συέννεσις τὰ ἄκρα, ἐπεὶ ᾔσθετο ὅτι τὸ Μένωνος στράτευμα ἤδη ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ἦν[8] εἴσω τῶν ὀρέων, καὶ ὅτι τριήρεις ἤκουε περιπλεούσας ἀπ' Ἰωνίας εἰς Κιλικίαν Ταμὼν ἔχοντα τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ αὐτοῦ Κύρου.***

[7] The presence of *δέ* in the negation *οὐδέ* ('not even', 'not at all') underscores the surprise. Compare also *οὐκέτι* ('no longer') indicating of a sudden change of position (*οὐκέτι ἤθελον*) in *Hellenica* 6.3.1: *κοινωνεῖν γε μὴν αὐτοῖς ὧν ἔπραττον* ***οὐκέτι ἤθελον*** (The Athenians), ***ἐπεὶ ἑώρων στρατεύοντάς τε αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ φίλους ἀρχαίους τῇ πόλει Φωκέας, καὶ πόλεις πιστάς τ' ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον πολέμῳ καὶ φίλας ἑαυτοῖς ἀφανίζοντας*** (as to taking part with the Thebans in what they were doing, this the Athenians **refused any longer, inasmuch as they saw that they were campaigning against the Phocians, who were old friends of the Athenians, and were annihilating cities which had been faithful in the war against the barbarian and were friendly to Athens**).

[8] *ὅτι τὸ Μένωνος στράτευμα ἤδη ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ἦν* c (printed by Marchant); *τό τε Μένωνος στράτευμα ὅτι ἤδη ἐν Κιλικίᾳ εἴη* f (printed by Hude).

> From there they made ready to try to enter Cilicia. Now the entrance was by a wagon-road, exceedingly steep and impracticable for an army to pass if there was anybody to oppose it; and in fact, as report ran, Syennesis was upon the heights, guarding the entrance; therefore Cyrus remained for a day in the plain. On the following day a messenger came with word that **Syennesis had abandoned the heights, inasmuch he had learned that Menon's army was already in Cilicia, on his own side of the mountains, and because, further, he had heard that triremes belonging to the Lacedaemonians and to Cyrus himself were sailing around from Ionia to Cilicia under the command of Tamos.**

A messenger delivers a report on a situation obtaining at the time, as is expressed by means of a perfect stem (λελοιπὼς εἴη). We do not get much information on this messenger: "möglicherweise handelt es sich um einen vorausgeschikten Kundschafter, der Informationen bei der einheimischen Bevölkerung eingeholt hatte" (Lendle, 1995, comm. *ad loc.*). The core of his report resides in the message that Syennesis had abandoned the heights (λελοιπὼς εἴη *Συέννεσις τὰ ἄκρα*). This is a rather surprising action on Syennesis's part, as he had occupied these heights in order to prevent Cyrus's army from passing them, which had caused the delay of a day. Two 'causal' clauses are added to the message: an *ἐπεί*-clause and a *ὅτι* -clause, connected by *καί*:

(1) *ἐπεὶ ᾔσθετο ὅτι τὸ* Μένωνος *στράτευμα ἤδη ἐν* Κιλικίᾳ *ἦν εἴσω τῶν ὀρέων*
because he had learned that Menon's army was already in Cilicia, on his own side of the mountains

(2) *ὅτι τριήρεις ἤκουε περιπλεούσας ἀπ'* Ἰωνίας *εἰς* Κιλικίαν Ταμὼν *ἔχοντα τὰς* Λακεδαιμονίων *καὶ αὐτοῦ* Κύρου
because he had heard that triremes belonging to the Lacedaemonians and to Cyrus himself were sailing around from Ionia to Cilicia under the command of Tamos.

These clauses present factual statements (note the indicatives *ᾔσθετο* and *ἤκουε*). The subject of *ᾔσθετο* and *ἤκουε* must be Syennesis (not the messenger); *εἴσω τῶν ὀρέων* refers to his side of the mountains. Although these clauses present data that are easily interpreted as explaining Syennesis's move, Syennesis is not their focalizer (if he were, we would not have had the verbal actions *ᾔσθετο* and *ἤκουε* at all, but the content of his perception in the optative of implied indirect discourse). Neither is it plausible that are they focalized by the messenger, for we cannot expect the messenger to have knowledge of Syennesis' perception, the verbs *ᾔσθετο* and *ἤκουε* should have been

optatives, and, further, it would be rather strange if the messenger would say ***αὐτοῦ Κύρου*** in the presence of Cyrus himself. To all appearances, it is the omniscient narrator from whose point of view the content of the 'causal' clauses is presented.

The two clauses are not on a par. Clause (1) is headed by ***ἐπεί***; the verbal constituent is an aorist indicative. Syennesis act of abandoning the heights, reported through the words of the messenger, is first and foremost motivated by the fact that Syennesis had learned that Menon's army was already in Cilicia, on his own side of the mountains. This is important, in that with Menon's army in Cilicia, there would be no point in remaining on the heights to prevent the enemy to come in. At the juncture of the reported action of leaving and the narrative continuation, ***ἐπεί*** + aorist indicative mark the decisive motive: once we know that Syennesis had learned that the enemy had invaded his country, we will understand that he cleared off. Clause (2) is then added, one of a more regular type (***ὅτι*** + the imperfect ***ἤκουε***):[9] here, the fact that Syennesis had heard that triremes were sailing around from Ionia to Cilicia is presented as additional cause for his leaving the spot.

## 1.2 *Postposed 'Causal' Participial Clauses*

Postposed conjunct participles that require a 'causal' interpretation are rare. They are not real alternatives for postposed 'causal' ***ἐπεί-/ἐπειδή***-clauses, inasmuch as they are not motivating clauses nor express a participant's motive for performing an action or taking a position. Rather, postposed 'causal' conjunct participles are clauses of reported 'internal' considerations on the part of the discourse participant in the matrix clause with which it is joined, as in [12] and [13]:

[12] *Anabasis* 1.1.4
*ὁ δ' ὡς ἀπῆλθε κινδυνεύσας καὶ ἀτιμασθείς, βουλεύεται ὅπως μήποτε ἔτι ἔσται ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, ἀλλά, ἢν δύνηται, βασιλεύσει ἀντ' ἐκείνου. Παρύσατις μὲν δὴ ἡ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχε τῷ Κύρῳ,* ***φιλοῦσα αὐτὸν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν βασιλεύοντα Ἀρταξέρξην.***

[9] Cf. for instance *Cyropaedia* 1.3.1: *ἰδεῖν γὰρ ἐπεθύμει,* ***ὅτι ἤκουεν*** *αὐτὸν καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι* ('for he was eager to see him, **because he had heard** that the child was a handsome boy of rare promise'), quoted and discussed in Muchnova (1991: 135, 140).

Now when Cyrus had thus returned, after his danger and disgrace, he set about planning that he might never again be in the power of his brother, but, if possible, might be king in his stead. In the first place, Parysatis, his mother, was devoted to Cyrus; (for) **she loved him better than the son who was king, Artaxerxes**.

Parysatis's feelings towards Cyrus are added in a postposed participle; the fact that Parysatis loved Cyrus better than his brother explains why she was devoted to Cyrus in the context of the two brothers quarreling. The postposed conjunct participle may be left out without the content of the preceding utterance becoming incomprehensible.

[13] *Anabasis* 1.5.9
*τὸ δὲ σύμπαν δῆλος ἦν Κῦρος ὡς σπεύδων πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ οὐ διατρίβων ὅπου μὴ ἐπισιτισμοῦ ἕνεκα ἤ τινος ἄλλου ἀναγκαίου ἐκαθέζετο,* ***νομίζων****, ὅσῳ θᾶττον ἔλθοι, τοσούτῳ ἀπαρασκευαστοτέρῳ βασιλεῖ μαχεῖσθαι, ὅσῳ δὲ σχολαίτερον, τοσούτῳ πλέον συναγείρεσθαι βασιλεῖ στράτευμα.*

In general, it was clear that Cyrus was in haste throughout the whole journey and was making no delays, except where he halted to procure provisions or for some other necessary purpose; (for) **he thought** that the faster he went, the more unprepared the King would be to fight with, while, on the other hand, the slower he went, the greater would be the army that was gathering for the King.

In [13], the narrator first states that Cyrus was in haste throughout the whole journey and was making no delays, except where he halted to procure provisions or for some other necessary purpose, and then adds an internal consideration for Cyrus' behavior with the participial clause (a clause of reported thought: *νομίζων*), without which the content of the preceding clause would still have been comprehensible.

Postposed 'causal' genitive absolute constructions are less rare. Consider [14], where a genitive absolute follows on an evaluating statement (*ὃν χαλεπὸν οἶμαι διαβαίνειν*):

[14] *Anabasis* 5.6.9
*ἢν δὲ καὶ δυνηθῆτε τά τε ὄρη κλέψαι ἢ φθάσαι λαβόντες καὶ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κρατῆσαι μαχόμενοι τούς τε ἱππέας τούτων καὶ πεζῶν μυριάδας πλέον ἢ δώδεκα, ἥξετε ἐπὶ τοὺς ποταμούς, πρῶτον μὲν τὸν Θερμώδοντα, εὖρος τριῶν πλέθρων, ὃν* ***χαλεπὸν οἶμαι διαβαίνειν ἄλλως τε καὶ πολεμίων πολλῶν ἔμπροσθεν ὄντων, πολλῶν δὲ ὄπισθεν ἑπομένων·***

> "If you should, after all, find yourselves able not only to seize the mountains, whether by stealth or by anticipating the enemy, but also on the plain to conquer in battle both their cavalry and their more than one hundred and twenty thousand infantry, you will come to the rivers. First is the Thermodon, three plethra in width, which **I fancy would be difficult to cross, especially with great numbers of the enemy in front and great numbers following behind**."

In [14], taken from a speech, the postposed genitive absolute is to be connected to the preceding evaluating claim *ὃν χαλεπὸν οἶμαι διαβαίνειν*. The entire context is one in which the speaker is hypothesizing about events yet to happen (*ἢν* … *δυνηθῆτε* … *ἥξετε*). The preceding utterance itself is marked as possibly true (*οἶμαι*). The claim *ὃν χαλεπὸν οἶμαι διαβαίνειν* does not call for substantiation, as without the genitive absolute, we would have a complete and fully comprehensible statement: '<you will come> first <to> the Thermodon, three plethra in width, which I fancy would be difficult to cross <*viz.*, because of the river's width>'. That the postposed participial clause is there just to add circumstances to the preceding is indicated by the expression *ἄλλως τε καί*: the river would be difficult to cross anyway <because of its width>, but especially so *πολεμίων πολλῶν ἔμπροσθεν ὄντων, πολλῶν δὲ ὄπισθεν ἑπομένων*, i.e. in a situation in which great numbers of the enemy are in front and great numbers are following behind. In the sequence where the information that the river's width is three plethra is conveyed before the relative clause *ὃν χαλεπὸν οἶμαι διαβαίνειν* is expressed, the postposed clause does not contain a Real World situation that motivates the preceding utterance. By opening with *ἄλλως τε καί* the speaker refers back to *εὖρος τριῶν πλέθρων*, and he adds through the postposed participial clause a potentially difficult, additional circumstance.

This use of a postposed genitive absolute conveying additional information at a point where the content of the preceding clause does not call for substantiation, comes close to the use of the genitive absolute following the *διά*-phrase in [15], which example in its turn should be compared with example [7] (*διὰ τὸ ἀνάγκην εἶναι λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἐπεὶ ἀγορὰν οὐ παρεῖχον*) in order to shed light on the use of a genitive absolute construction as an alternative for postposed 'causal' *ἐπεί-/ἐπειδή*-clauses:

[15] *Hellenica* 1.3.7
*ἅμα δὲ καὶ Φαρνάβαζος, οὐ δυνάμενος συμμεῖξαι πρὸς τὸν Ἱπποκράτην **διὰ τὴν στενοπορίαν**, **τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀποτειχισμάτων ἐγγὺς ὄντων**, ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς τὸ Ἡράκλειον τὸ τῶν Καλχηδονίων, οὗ ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ στρατόπεδον.*

At the same time Pharnabazus, unable to effect a junction with Hippocrates **because of the narrowness of the space**—(for) **the stockade came down close to the river**—retired to the Heracleium in the Calchedonian territory, where he had his camp.

The genitive absolute *τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀποτειχισμάτων ἐγγὺς ὄντων* follows on the phrase *διὰ τὴν στενοπορίαν*, which *στενοπορία* caused Pharnabazus to be unable to effect a junction with Hippocrates. The postposed genitive absolute is there to provide the reader/hearer with (geographical) information without which the preceding utterance would still have been comprehensible. In fact, the genitive absolute fills in the situation outlined by the preceding word *στενοπορία*; note that the noun *στενοπορία* and the genitive absolute *τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀποτειχισμάτων ἐγγὺς ὄντων* refer to exactly the same situation in reality. The use of the definite article *τήν* in *διὰ τὴν στενοπορίαν* seems to trigger the addition of geographical information, but the fact that the article is used at the same time proves that it should be clear enough in itself what is being communicated. The genitive absolute following on the *διά*-phrase in [15] may be compared to the subclause *ἐπεὶ ἀγορὰν οὐ παρεῖχον* following on the *διά*-phrase *διὰ τὸ ἀνάγκην εἶναι λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια* in [7], but there is a conspicuous difference: in [7], a justification for the preceding utterance needs to be expressed, while in [15] there is nothing in the context that requires that the preceding is justified nor made comprehensible. The low degree of linguistic coding of the genitive absolute corresponds to its minor contribution to text comprehension in adding information to a dependent (participial) matrix clause, which is in itself sufficiently comprehensible.

In [16] the genitive absolute, too, elaborates on an in itself fully comprehensible preceding matrix clause so that the information it contains may be characterized as merely additional:

[16] *Hellenica* 2.2.10
***οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι πολιορκούμενοι κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἠπόρουν τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, οὔτε νεῶν οὔτε συμμάχων αὐτοῖς ὄντων οὔτε σίτου·***

The Athenians, besieged by land and by sea, **knew not what to do**—(for) **they had neither ships nor allies nor provisions**.

The narrator could have confined himself to saying *οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι πολιορκούμενοι κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἠπόρουν τί χρὴ ποιεῖν*, in which case the despondency of the Athenians would be completely comprehensible from the information that they were besieged by land and by sea. The genitive absolute, not a subclause, is used after a verbal action which is neither surprising nor qualifies for 'control' (*ἠπόρουν*); the content of the postposed participial clause is therefore *not* to be characterized as a discourse participant's motive, but presents, from the viewpoint of the narrator (cf. *αὐτοῖς*), a description of situational circumstances obtaining at the time, and therewith details the state outlined in the preceding matrix clause.

If an independently asserted narrative event presented by an aorist stem participle is postposed to its matrix clause, the relation between the content of the participial clause and its matrix clause may sometimes be interpreted as 'causal', as in [17]:

[17] *Hellenica* 1.3.1
***τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους ὁ ἐν Φωκαίᾳ νεὼς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐνεπρήσθη πρηστῆρος ἐμπεσόντος.***

During the ensuing year **the temple of Athena at Phocaea caught fire**—(since) **it was struck by lightning**.

In the course of events that the historian records, he mentions the fact that the temple of Athena at Phocaea caught fire, and also informs us it was struck by lightning. In order to do so, he uses a main clause and a postposed genitive absolute, both with an aorist verbal contituent. On the basis of our knowledge of the world, certain assumptions can be made about this situation. We may for instance infer that:

> the information that the temple caught fire and the information that it was struck by lightning are to be related to one another, to the extent that:
> it was because it was struck by lightning that the temple caught fire, and:

the temple was first struck by lightning and then caught fire.

These alleged Real World relations have been left unexpressed in the Greek. The narrator presents the most salient information first, and then adds the less salient information in a genitive absolute, without indicating how these two pieces of information cohere. The finite main verb *ἐνεπρήσθη* does not qualify for 'control', so that considerations of 'motive' are to be disregarded—we rather have a 'cause' here. Further, it is not the surprise of the verbal action *ἐνεπρήσθη* in its context, it is the very nature of the verbal action which triggers the need of an explanation, which is subsequently independently asserted and integrated into the sentence by means of a genitive absolute.

The independence of the assertion may be further illustrated by the following postposed aorist stem genitive absolute, whose verbal action is negated:

[18] *Hellenica* 4.4.5
*βουλευομένων δὲ τί χρὴ ποιεῖν,* ***πίπτει τὸ κιόκρανον ἀπό του κίονος οὔτε σεισμοῦ οὔτε ἀνέμου γενομένου****.*

They were deliberating as to what they should do, when **the capital fell from a column**, **without there being either earthquake or wind**.

In the postposed genitive absolute, the occurrence of an earthquake or wind is denied, apparently because the occurrence of an earthquake or wind may be viewed as a *possible* cause for the capital falling from the column. This is why the earthquake and wind are mentioned: again, it is not the surprise of the action *πίπτει* (zero-'control') in its context, but the nature of the action itself which triggers an explanation. It is only after the information in the matrix clause is conveyed that the reader/hearer may assume the occurrence of an earthquake or wind to be the cause for it, which is subsequently denied with little linguistic coding.[10]

[10] Apart from factors concerning discourse function and expectancy on the part of the hearer, the sequence ?*οὔτε σεισμοῦ οὔτε ἀνέμου γενομένου πίπτει τὸ κιόκρανον ἀπό του κίονος* would have been odd for another reason. This would have been interpreted as 'there was neither earthquake nor wind, *and then* the capital fell from a column'. The oddity consists in the fact that an aorist participle usually projects cataphoric temporal succession, which does not obtain.

### 1.3 *Summary and Conclusion*

By providing information that is presented after their matrix clause, postposed 'causal' clauses serve a function in information processing: (part of) the content of the preceding matrix clause is reconsidered by the reader/hearer with the help of the information added. It was claimed in Chapter 4 that as far as preposed subclauses are concerned, the low degree of desententialization of the subclause corresponds to a high degree of linguistic coding, and therewith to a high degree of discontinuity at points of segmentation of the discourse. In the case of postposed subclauses, segmentation of the discourse is not at issue. However, also in postposed 'causal' clauses the degree of linguistic coding of the clause corresponds to its contribution to text comprehension.

Postposed 'causal' ἐπεί- and ἐπειδή-clauses show a high degree of linguistic coding. Usually the preceding utterance itself, or the action or position it describes is surprising in its linguistic or non-linguistic context. In all instances, the postposed 'causal' ἐπεί-/ἐπειδή-clause adds Real World data to the matrix clause for *motivating* purposes. It is there to make the preceding utterance comprehensible in its context. When they are used in non-narrative episodes (speech situations), they constitute a special class of clauses: *motivating clauses*, presenting a factual statement about the Real World which justifies (part of) the preceding utterance ([3] - [9]). In pure narrative they are rare; there, they express, from the viewpoint of the omniscient narrator, a Real World situation that is to be regarded as a discourse participant's *motive* for taking a position ([10]). Finally, the omniscient narrator may use a subclause to express a discourse participant's motive for performing a rather surprising action as an addition to the words of another speaker (the rather complex example [11]).

Postposed conjunct participles that receive a 'causal' interpretation provide 'additional' information in reporting 'internal' considerations on the part of the discourse participant in the matrix clause with which it is joined ([12] - [13]). The real alternatives for postposed 'causal' ἐπεί-/ἐπειδή-clauses are postposed 'causal' genitive absolute constructions: the latter do contain information that explains (part of) the preceding matrix clause, but are used when the preceding utterance does not call for substantiation in its context ([14] - [15]). The information contained in the postposed genitive absolute, too,

may therefore be said to be 'additional' to the main point made to a high degree: the preceding utterance would still remain comprehensible in its context if the postposed participle were left out ([16]). The participle is there to inform the hearer/reader about factual or conceivable circumstances which did ([17]) or did not ([18]) apply in the situation described in the preceding clause.

## 2 *Genitive Absolute Constructions vs. Conjunct Participles*

Thus far, genitive absolute constructions and conjunct participles were treated as constituting together the grammatical class of 'participial clauses'; in this Section, the difference between these two subcategories will be addressed by discussing instances where a genitive absolute has been chosen although the participle could have been joined with a nominal constituent performing a syntactic function in the sentence.[11] Although such instances are rare, they are attested in extant Greek often enough to warrant a separate discussion.

The genitive absolute is a well recognized and—from a sentence-based point of view—well described grammatical feature. Although the definitions of grammarians show slight differences, on the whole there is hardly any dispute about what a genitive absolute actually is; see Kühner-Gerth, 1904: 78ff., Schwyzer-Debrunner, 1950: 398f., Goodwin, 1897: 337. Smyth (1920: 457) offers a very short definition: "A participle agreeing in the genitive with its own subject, which is not identical with the subject of the leading verb, is said to stand in the genitive absolute". The instances to be discussed in this Section have been traditionally described as *violations* of the *rule* that the genitive absolute is used only when a conjunct participle is not an option, because of the lack of a nominal constituent in the construction with which the participle can be joined. For those instances to which this 'rule' does not apply the grammarians offer the 'explanation' that a genitive absolute has been chosen to 'emphasize'[12] its content; cf. Goodwin, 1897: 338:

[11] See also Chapter 2, Section 6.
[12] For objections against bringing in the notion of emphasis as an explanation, see Chapter 1, Section 1.

> The genitive absolute is regularly used only when a new subject is introduced into the sentence and not when the participle can be joined with any substantive already belonging to the construction. Yet this principle is sometimes violated, in order to make the participial clause more prominent and to express its relation (time, cause, etc.) with greater emphasis.

and Schwyzer-Debrunner, 1950: 399:

> Die Verselbständigung des gen. abs. ist besonders deutlich, wenn er – seit dem V[a] – statt Nom., Akk., Dat. mit ptc. coniunctum steht, öfters mit der stilistischen Wirkung, den durch ihn ausgedrückten Sachverhalt herauszuheben.

and also Smyth, 1920: 460:

> Exceptionally, the subject of the genitive absolute is the same as that of the main clause. The effect of this irregular construction is to emphasize the idea contained in the genitive absolute.

In order to fully appreciate the preference of a genitive absolute over a participial clause in such instances, we should go beyond the boundaries of the sentence in which it occurs. If we take account of the information flow in on-going discourse, the genitive absolute turns out to be a text-grammatical device.

Participles showing case-agreement with the constituent of the main construction with which they can be joined are, in fact, found in the great majority of cases. However, this grammatical regularity belongs solely to the field of sentence-syntax. The countable dominance of case-agreement, conjunct participles vis-à-vis genitive absolute constructions and subclauses in general, and, for that matter, conjunct participles in the nominative case vis-à-vis other cases can be explained from the point of view of text grammar. Conjunct participles usually contain verbal actions performed by a discourse participant, and active discourse participants usually fill the nominative slot of the matrix clause. Further, coherent discourse is more often than not thematically continuous; as we have seen in Chapter 4, the high degree of desententialization of the conjunct participle corresponds to a high degree of thematic continuity, while discontinuity is signaled by clause types showing a relatively low degree of desentententialization and therewith a high degree of linguistic coding; therefore, clause types other than the conjunct participle are used at points of discourse turbulence. The same

principle explains, *a fortiori*, the predominance of participles showing case-agreement; the suspension of agreement is therefore a sign of discourse complexity. In this respect, it is significant that most 'irregular' genitive absolute constructions are preposed to their matrix clause and, within this category, mostly occupy the sentence-initial position.

Discourse complexity is of a varying nature. Syntactic complexity, or, in terms of information processing, the 'processing load' of a clause combination, is among the first factors involved. Syntactic complexity ensues, e.g., when another clause is dependent on the participial clause. Textual complexity occurs when a great amount of entirely new information has to be processed in on-going discourse. The fact that some cases in Ancient Greek are less suitable to be used in such situations because of the great demands they make on the concentration of the reader/hearer may lead the speaker/narrator to use a genitive absolute where, syntactically, a conjunct participle would have been possible. This predictably occurs when the constituent with which the particle could have been joined is a dative: in information processing, the dative case is too marked to be the anchor of a syntactically or pragmatically complex participial clause.

While we would expect to find syntactic shifts especially in spoken discourse,[13] it should be noted that even in the case of written discourse the genitive absolute is often preferred over a conjunct participle to facilitate participant-tracking and topic management. The genitive absolute, which usually has its own (expressed) subject and therefore is altogether outside the main construction, offers the speaker the opportunity to present a piece of information without interfering with the construction of the sentence as a whole.

### 2.1 *The 'Regular' Conjunct Participle*

If, for instance, a participant has already been firmly established as a topic in the preceding discourse, this participant is referred back to by means of a form of the pronoun αὐτός (or οὗτος) in the case fitting the main construction; a conjunct participle can be joined with the

[13] Slings (1994 a: 420) proposes the following hierarchy of cases for an oral grammar of Homer, in which shifts occur from the most marked case on the right side of the scale to the left:

nominative < ?vocative < accusative < genitive < dative

pronoun. A case in point is provided by *πορευομένοις αὐτοῖς παρὰ βασιλέα* in [19]:

> [19] *Hellenica* 1.4.1-3
> *Φαρνάβαζος δὲ καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις τῆς Φρυγίας ἐν Γορδείῳ ὄντες τὸν χειμῶνα τὰ περὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον πεπραγμένα ἤκουσαν. ἀρχομένου δὲ τοῦ ἔαρος* ***πορευομένοις αὐτοῖς παρὰ βασιλέα ἀπήντησαν*** *καταβαίνοντες οἵ τε Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις Βοιώτιος [ὄνομα] καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄγγελοι, καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὧν δέονται πάντων πεπραγότες εἶεν παρὰ βασιλέως, καὶ Κῦρος, ἄρξων πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ συμπολεμήσων Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπιστολήν τε ἔφερε τοῖς κάτω πᾶσι τὸ βασίλειον σφράγισμα ἔχουσαν, ἐν ᾗ ἐνῆν καὶ τάδε·*
>
> Pharnabazus and the ambassadors, who were spending the winter at Gordium, in Phrygia, heard what had happened at Byzantium. At the beginning of the spring, **as they were continuing their journey to the King**, not only the Lacedaemonian ambassadors returning,—Boeotius and his colleagues and the messengers besides, who reported that the Lacedaemonians had obtained from the King everything they wanted,—but also Cyrus, who had come in order to be ruler of all the peoples on the coast and to support the Lacedaemonians in the war, **encountered them**; Cyrus brought with him a letter, addressed to all the dwellers upon the sea and bearing the King's seal, which contained among other things these words…

Pharnabazus and the ambassadors are re-introduced as the topic of a new text segment.[14] They are the subject of the first sentence, and in the second sentence are referred back to by means of the pronoun *αὐτοῖς* in the dative as an argument of the main verb *ἀπήντησαν*. In this sentence, new participants are introduced (*οἵ τε Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις Βοιώτιος [ὄνομα] καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄγγελοι … καὶ Κῦρος*): the passage is organized around its participants. The passage, however, is discontinuous with respect to time: the event-time of the first sentence is the winter (*τὸν χειμῶνα*) of 408 B.C., the event-time of the next sentence is the spring (*τοῦ ἔαρος*) of 407 B.C. In this case, the genitive absolute (*ἀρχομένου δὲ τοῦ ἔαρος*) provides necessary information; without it, the sequence would have been misleading with respect to its event-time. At the onset of a new DU where a text boundary (the next step in a sequence) is articulated (*δέ*), the genitive absolute *ἀρχομένου δὲ τοῦ ἔαρος* is used to secure the

[14] *Φαρνάβαζος δὲ*, Fortsetzung von I, 3, 14 (Breitenbach, comm. ad loc.).

thematic continuity of the character-oriented paragraph, despite the shift in the temporal situation.[15] Following on the genitive absolute, the firmly established, continuous topic of the preceding DU is picked up by the pronoun ***αὐτοῖς***, with which the present stem conjunct participial clause *πορευομένοις παρὰ βασιλέα* is joined, providing a spational orientation. Compare [20]:

> [20] *Anabasis* 3.4.1-2
> *μείναντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐπορεύοντο πρῳαίτερον ἀναστάντες· χαράδραν γὰρ ἔδει αὐτοὺς διαβῆναι ἐφ᾽ ᾗ ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ ἐπιθοῖντο αὐτοῖς διαβαίνουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι.* ***διαβεβηκόσι δὲ αὐτοῖς*** *πάλιν* ***φαίνεται*** Μιθραδάτης, *ἔχων ἱππέας χιλίους, τοξότας δὲ καὶ σφενδονήτας εἰς τετρακισχιλίους·*
>
> That day they remained quiet, and the next morning they set forth,—they rose earlier than usual; for there was a gorge they had to cross, and they were afraid that the enemy might attack them as they were crossing. It was **only after they had crossed it** that Mithradates **appeared** again, accompanied by a thousand horsemen and about four thousand bowmen and slingers.

The dative pronoun ***αὐτοῖς*** with which the perfect stem conjunct participle ***διαβεβηκόσι*** is joined, functions as an optional argument to ***φαίνεται***; the continuous topic is picked up after a backgrounded *γάρ*-clause in a thematically continuous passage; cf. the lexical overlap in *διαβῆναι … διαβαίνουσιν … διαβεβηκόσι*. Narrative time is propelled forward to the moment when they had met the difficulty of crossing the gorge without the enemy showing up, who are subsequently brought to the stage.

When participant tracking is relatively easy, marked cases in Greek can function as the anchor of a conjunct participle. While, for instance, the participle of *ἀφικνέομαι* is used predominantly as a conjunct participle in the nominative case relocating a firmly introduced active participant, the accusative case is possible in certain contexts; see [21]:

> [21] *Hellenica* 1.1.9
> *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα* Τισσαφέρνης *ἦλθεν εἰς* Ἑλλήσποντον· ***ἀφικόμενον δὲ παρ᾽ αὐτὸν μιᾷ τριήρει*** Ἀλκιβιάδην *ξένιά τε καὶ δῶρα*

[15] Since, however, the passage is character-oriented, not temporally organized, it is not discontinuous enough with respect to time to warrant a subclause to signal a content-oriented boundary at the point where there is need to indicate the transition to a new year.

ἄγοντα **συλλαβὼν εἶρξεν** ἐν Σάρδεσι, φάσκων κελεύειν βασιλέα πολεμεῖν Ἀθηναίοις.

After this Tissaphernes came to the Hellespont. Alcibiades **with a single trireme went to visit him**, bearing friendly offerings and gifts; Tissaphernes **seized him and imprisoned him** in Sardis, saying that the King ordered him to make war upon the Athenians.

In the first (main) sentence of this passage, the narrator articulates the onset of a new text segment that will be about Tissaphernes; the correct understanding of the situation with respect to time (**μετὰ … ταῦτα**), participants (just **Τισσαφέρνης**), action (aorist **ἦλθεν**), and location (**εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον**) is secured. After this introduction, Alcibiades's relocation, expressed by the conjunct participial clause **ἀφικόμενον … παρ' αὐτὸν μιᾷ τριήρει**, is joined with the accusative **Ἀλκιβιάδην** functioning as an argument of **συλλαβὼν** and **εἶρξεν**, because Alcibiades is not an 'active' discourse participant in that the discourse is concerned with his actions, and should not be regarded as such; rather, the narrator sticks to Tissaphernes as the discourse topic.

## 2.2 *The 'Irregular' Genitive Absolute Construction*

Because its own subject is expressed, the genitive absolute offers the opportunity of (re-)introducing a participant into the discourse outside of the main construction. The 'violations' to the 'rule' given by the grammars are constituted by instances where the subject of the genitive absolute also performs a syntactic function in the main construction; if the genitive absolute is preposed, the subject of the genitive absolute is usually referred back to by means of the pronoun **αὐτός** or **οὗτος** in the case fitting the main construction.

[22] *Hellenica* 5.4.56-58
μάλα δὲ πιεζόμενοι οἱ Θηβαῖοι σπάνει σίτου διὰ τὸ δυοῖν ἐτοῖν μὴ εἰληφέναι καρπὸν ἐκ τῆς γῆς, πέμπουσιν ἐπὶ δυοῖν τριήροιν ἄνδρας εἰς Παγασὰς ἐπὶ σῖτον δέκα τάλαντα δόντες. Ἀλκέτας δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος φυλάττων Ὠρεόν, ἐν ᾧ ἐκεῖνοι τὸν σῖτον συνεωνοῦντο, ἐπληρώσατο τρεῖς τριήρεις, ἐπιμεληθεὶς ὅπως μὴ ἐξαγγελθείη. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήγετο ὁ σῖτος, λαμβάνει ὁ Ἀλκέτας τόν τε σῖτον καὶ τὰς τριήρεις, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐζώγρησεν οὐκ ἐλάττους ἢ τριακοσίους. τούτους δὲ εἶρξεν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει, οὗπερ αὐτὸς ἐσκήνου.

**ἀκολουθοῦντος δέ τινος τῶν Ὠρειτῶν παιδός, ὡς ἔφασαν, μάλα καλοῦ τε κἀγαθοῦ**, καταβαίνων ἐκ τῆς

*ἀκροπόλεως* ***περὶ τοῦτον*** *ἦν. καταγνόντες δὲ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι τὴν ἀμέλειαν, καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ ἡ πόλις ἀφίσταται· ὥστ' εὐπόρως ἤδη οἱ Θηβαῖοι σῖτον παρεκομίζοντο.*
*ὑποφαίνοντος δὲ πάλιν τοῦ ἦρος ὁ μὲν Ἀγησίλαος κλινοπετὴς ἦν.*

The Thebans were now greatly pinched for want of corn, because they had got no crops from their land for two years; they therefore sent men and two triremes to Pagasae after corn, giving them ten talents. While they were buying up the corn, Alcetas, the Lacedaemonian who was keeping guard in Oreus, manned three triremes, taking care that the fact should not be reported. Now the corn was on its way from Pagasae, and Alcetas captured both corn and triremes, and made prisoners of the men, who were not fewer than three hundred in number. These men he then shut up in the Acropolis, where he himself had his quarters.

**There was a boy of Oreus, as the story ran, an extremely fine lad too, who was always in attendance upon him**, and Alcetas went down from the Acropolis and occupied himself **with this boy**. The prisoners, observing his carelessness, seized the Acropolis, and the city revolted; so that thereafter the Thebans brought in supplies of corn easily.

At the beginning of spring, Agesilaus was confined to his bed.

This small episode tells us about the Thebans bringing in corn in five steps: first, they were in want of corn, then they sent to Pegasae after corn, then the corn and the men were captured; these men escaped and thereafter the Thebans' difficulties in bringing in corn were solved. The story's most picturesque detail is, of course, the fact that the prisoners were able to escape because the attention of Alcetas, who had taken them prisoner, had been distracted by a fine boy. Now this boy, whose name is not even mentioned, only figures as a discourse participant inasmuch as Alcetas went down from the Acropolis where the prisoners were locked up, and occupied himself with him (*καταβαίνων ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως περὶ τοῦτον ἦν*). In order to get this message across, the narrator first has to introduce the boy. This is done in a genitive absolute *ἀκολουθοῦντος δέ τινος τῶν Ὠρειτῶν παιδός, … μάλα καλοῦ τε κἀγαθοῦ*, the subject of which is referred back to later in the sentence by means of the anaphoric pronoun *τοῦτον*. Although its subject performs a syntactic function in the matrix clause, the use of a genitive absolute construction here is understandable if we consider the grammar of both sentence and discourse. On the level of sentence-syntax, using a conjunct participle in the accusative case (as in [21] of Section 2.1) would be extremely

harsh, if not impossible from the point of view of information processing, as the accusative case in the leading clause is triggered by a preposition (*περί*), not as a complement to the main finite verb. The alternative, constituting the text differently and introducing the boy in a separate clause (either a main clause, a subclause, or a conjunct participle in the nominative case) would mean giving too much attention to the introduction of a minor participant, and would spoil the referent continuity now brought about by the sequence **Ἀλκέτας δέ … φυλάττων … ἐπληρώσατο … ἐπιμεληθείς … λαμβάνει ὁ Ἀλκέτας … ἐζώγρησεν … εἶρξεν … καταβαίνων … περὶ τοῦτον ἦν**, after which a topic-switch occurs to the prisoners, the other major discourse participants of this segment (**καταγνόντες δὲ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι τὴν ἀμέλειαν**).

[23] *Hellenica* 4.1.15–18
*ἐκ τούτου δεξιὰς δόντες καὶ λαβόντες ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀπέπεμπον τὸν Ὄτυν. καὶ εὐθὺς ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἐπεὶ ἔγνω αὐτὸν σπεύδοντα, τριήρη πληρώσας καὶ Καλλίαν Λακεδαιμόνιον κελεύσας ἀπαγαγεῖν τὴν παῖδα, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Δασκυλείου ἀπεπορεύετο, ἔνθα καὶ τὰ βασίλεια ἦν Φαρναβάζῳ, καὶ κῶμαι περὶ αὐτὰ πολλαὶ καὶ μεγάλαι καὶ ἄφθονα ἔχουσαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ θῆραι αἱ μὲν καὶ ἐν περιειργμένοις παραδείσοις, αἱ δὲ καὶ ⟨ἐν⟩ ἀναπεπταμένοις τόποις, πάγκαλαι. παρέρρει δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς παντοδαπῶν ἰχθύων πλήρης. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὰ πτηνὰ ἄφθονα τοῖς ὀρνιθεῦσαι δυναμένοις. ἐνταῦθα μὲν δὴ διεχείμαζε, καὶ αὐτόθεν καὶ σὺν προνομαῖς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῇ στρατιᾷ λαμβάνων.* ***καταφρονητικῶς δέ ποτε καὶ ἀφυλάκτως διὰ τὸ μηδὲν πρότερον ἐσφάλθαι λαμβανόντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἐπέτυχεν αὐτοῖς*** *ὁ Φαρνάβαζος κατὰ τὸ πεδίον ἐσπαρμένοις, ἅρματα μὲν ἔχων δύο δρεπανηφόρα, ἱππέας δὲ ὡς τετρακοσίους. οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ὡς εἶδον αὐτὸν προσελαύνοντα, συνέδραμον ὡς εἰς ἑπτακοσίους·*

Thereupon they gave and received pledges to ratify this agreement, and so sent Otys on his way. And Agesilaus, being now assured that Otys was eager, immediately manned a trireme and ordered Callias the Lacedaemonian to fetch the girl; he set off himself for Dascyleium, the place where the palace of Pharnabazus was situated, and round about it were many large villages, stored with provisions in abundance, and splendid wild animals, some of them in enclosed parks, others in open spaces. There was also a river, full of all kinds of fish, flowing by the palace. And, besides, there was winged game in abundance for those who knew how to take it. There he spent the winter, procuring provisions for his army partly on the spot, and partly by means of foraging expeditions. **On one occasion the soldiers were getting their**

> **provisions in disdainful and careless fashion, because they had not previously met with any mishap**, when Pharnabazus **came upon them**, scattered as they were over the plain, with two scythe-bearing chariots and about four hundred horsemen. The Greeks, upon seeing him advancing upon them, ran together to the number of about seven hundred.

In this example, the subject of the genitive absolute (*τῶν στρατιωτῶν*) is referred back to later in the sentence by the anaphoric pronoun *αὐτοῖς* which functions as the complement to *ἐπέτυχεν*.

We learn that Agesilaus set off for Dascyleium (*ἀπεπορεύετο*); by opting for an imperfect the narrator directs the attention of the hearer towards the surrounding context and gives the signal 'to be continued'.[16] After supplying background information (*ἔνθα καί … ἦν … παρέρρει δὲ καί … ἦν δὲ καί …*), he fulfills this expectation: *ἐνταῦθα μὲν δὴ διεχείμαζε, …*; again, the choice of an imperfect leads the reader/hearer to expect that more information will be conveyed, for instance what happened during his spending the winter there. Regular mention of the changing of the seasons is essential to the macrostructure of historical narrative. Note that the current narrative line is not picked up until 4.1.41 when Agesilaus leaves the territory of Pharnabazus at the beginning of spring: *καὶ τότε δή, ὥσπερ εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Φαρνάβαζον, εὐθὺς ἀπεπορεύετο ἐκ τῆς χώρας· σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ἔαρ ἤδη ὑπέφαινεν*). Everything in between is an embedded narrative discourse, *viz.*, about what happened during the winter.

Given that the setting in the macrostructure of the narrative episode is firmly set with *ἐνταῦθα μὲν δὴ διεχείμαζε* ('there he spent the winter') the moment the genitive absolute under consideration occurs, the text is segmented on a relatively low level: a new DU is started as indicated by the particle *δέ*, which marks the next independent step in the narration, albeit on the level of the embedded narrative episode about what happened during the winter. Further, the genitive absolute under consideration occupies the sentence-initial position, the position at which text articulating functions are performed.

[16] Cf. the use of *ἐπορεύετο* in Chapter 2, Section 3, [5] and Chapter 4, Section 4, [5], and discussion. For a discussion of the difference between *ἐπορεύετο* and *ἐπορεύθη* in a near-minimal pair from the *Hellenica* and *Agesilaus*, see Buijs (unpublished).

One of the most interesting features of the genitive absolute is that it contains the non-specific temporal adverbial ποτε, which vaguely indicates a new temporal setting in referring to a moment in time inside the over-all temporal setting indicated by διεχείμαζε; as such, a shift in temporal setting is established from the *general* ('the winter') to the *specific* ('on one occasion during that winter').

In spite of the articulation of a new DU and the slight temporal shift, the situation is otherwise highly continuous: as ποτε takes care of the temporal organization, the present tense stem participle (λαμβανόντων) itself does not propel forward narrative time; rather, it takes up the action of getting provisions already introduced in the conjunct participial clause καὶ αὐτόθεν καὶ σὺν προνομαῖς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῇ στρατιᾷ λαμβάνων, postposed to ἐνταῦθα μὲν δὴ διεχείμαζε. It thus secures coherence at a point of segmentation through linkage via lexical overlap. The present stem participle, which is off the main narrative line, simultaneously serves an orienting function towards the sequel.

Because of the high thematic continuity of the new DU with respect to the preceding DU, a subclause would be out of place at this point: it would have indicated a thematic boundary at the level of the Real World construction which is uncalled for here. Also, one may wonder whether a narrator would consider indicating a Real World relation between the fact that the soldiers were getting their provisions and the fact that Pharnabazus showed up. We may hypothesize that their getting provisions *in disdainful and careless fashion* made Pharnabazus come upon them, but the lexical meaning of ἐπέτυχεν ('to fall in with', 'meet with', LSJ) seems to make this interpretation impossible; rather, Pharnabazus met them when they were scattered across the plain because of this way of conduct. Factors concerning both the presentation of Real World relations and the articulation of the text are operative on the choice of a participial clause here, to the extent that the possibility of a subclause is excluded.

While a smooth change-over between the two adjacent DU's is established, at the same time there is a slight shift as far as the topical participants is concerned. Up to the genitive absolute, Agesilaus is the dominant discourse topic. Then, with the genitive absolute, the soldiers of his army become the new, inferrable topic. There is no major discontinuity in the cast of participants, as the soldiers were already present in the preceding postposed conjunct participial clause

(*καὶ αὐτόθεν καὶ σὺν προνομαῖς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῇ στρατιᾷ λαμβάνων*); the lexical overlap in *τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῇ στρατιᾷ λαμβάνων ... λαμβανόντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια*, too, is an indication of linkage of two adjacent DU's in an otherwise highly continuous passage. The fact that the soldiers are made the new topic in itself may very well account for the way in which Xenophon has expressed himself, i.e., introducing them in a genitive absolute and then referring back to them with *αὐτοῖς* as part of the main construction.

However, when compared to the 'regular' conjunct participles of example [19] and [20] of Section 2.1, the genitive absolute construction in [23] should be accounted for by pointing at two factors pertaining to text grammar, *viz.*, topic management and the information flow in on-going discourse. The finite main verb of the leading clause (*ἐπέτυχεν*) requires a dative complement (*αὐτοῖς*), like in [19] (*αὐτοῖς ... ἀπήντησαν*); compare the optional dative argument in [20] (*αὐτοῖς ... φαίνεται*). But in [19] and [20] a conjunct participle is joined with the dative pronoun *αὐτοῖς* while the pronoun is used to refer back to participants that had been firmly established as a topic in the preceding discourse, whereas in [23] there is a slight topic-switch to the soldiers, who have to be, and in fact are, introduced in the genitive absolute (as in [22] above) at the point where they become active discourse participants (compare [24] below). Further, another feature of the genitive absolute *καταφρονητικῶς δέ ποτε καὶ ἀφυλάκτως διὰ τὸ μηδὲν πρότερον ἐσφάλθαι λαμβανόντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια* in [23] is that it provides the reader/hearer with a relatively large amount of information, especially when compared to the conjunct participial clauses *πορευομένοις ... παρὰ βασιλέα* in [19] and *διαβεβηκόσι* in [20]. In those cases where much information is to be conveyed, i.e. at points of discourse complexity, the dative case seems too marked a case to function as an anchor of a conjunct participial clause. Instead, the less strongly desententialized genitive absolute (+ subject slot) is used.

[24] *Hellenica* 3.2.25-26[17]
*περιόντι δὲ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ φαίνουσι πάλιν οἱ ἔφοροι φρουρὰν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἦλιν, καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο τῷ Ἄγιδι πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ*

[17] = Example [18] of Chapter 2, Section 6.

*Κορινθίων οἵ τε ἄλλοι πάντες σύμμαχοι καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι.* ***ἐμβαλόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἄγιδος δι' Αὐλῶνος****, εὐθὺς μὲν Λεπρεᾶται ἀποστάντες τῶν Ἠλείων* ***προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ****, εὐθὺς δὲ Μακίστιοι, ἐχόμενοι δ' Ἐπιταλιεῖς.* ***διαβαίνοντι δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν προσεχώρουν*** *Λετρῖνοι καὶ Ἀμφίδολοι καὶ Μαργανεῖς. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐλθὼν εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν ἔθυε τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ· κωλύειν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἐπειρᾶτο. θύσας δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ ἐπορεύετο, κόπτων καὶ κάων τὴν χώραν, καὶ ὑπέρπολλα μὲν κτήνη, ὑπέρπολλα δὲ ἀνδράποδα ἡλίσκετο ἐκ τῆς χώρας·*

In the course of the year the ephors again called out the ban against Elis, and with the exception of the Boeotians and the Corinthians all the allies, including the Athenians, took part with Agis in the campaign. **Agis entered Elis by way of Aulon**, and the Lepreans at once revolted from the Eleans and came over to him, the Macistians likewise at once, and after them the Epitalians. **He was crossing the river**, when the Letrinians, Amphidolians, and Marganians **came over to him**. Thereupon he went to Olympia and offered sacrifices to Olympian Zeus, and this time no one undertook to prevent him. After his sacrifices he marched upon the city of Elis, laying the land waste with axe and fire as he went, and vast numbers of cattle and vast numbers of slaves were captured in the country.

The verb *προσχωρέω* requires a dative complement, this slot being filled by the pronoun *αὐτῷ* the first time the verb occurs in this passage. By means of the pronoun the narrator refers back to the subject of the preceding genitive absolute (*τοῦ Ἄγιδος*). With *ἐμβαλόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἄγιδος δι' Αὐλῶνος*, Agis, the leader of the expedition, becomes an active discourse participant; however, he had already been present in the discourse, but not as an agent (*συνεστρατεύοντο τῷ Ἄγιδι*). Typically, new topics are introduced by a nominal constituent in the nominative case (the name preceded by the article), usually accompanied by δέ. After first being mentioned in the dative, Agis still has to be established as a topic; although Agis performs a syntactic function in the leading clause, a genitive absolute is chosen; the alleged sentence-based demand of case-agreement is suspended in order to introduce Agis as an active discourse participant. The second time the verb *προσχωρέω* is used, Agis has been firmly established as a topic, and a conjunct participle in the dative case, even without its nominal head being expressed, can be used (*διαβαίνοντι … τὸν ποταμὸν προσεχώρουν*). From the viewpoint of information flow, the distribution of the aorist and present stem, in that order (*προσεχώρησαν … προσεχώρουν*: plus

focus function of the verbal constituent vs. minus focus function of the verbal constituent), is on a par with the distribution of the cases used for its complement (αὐτῷ referring back to the subject of an 'irregular' genitive absolute vs. zero-anafora + conjunct participle in the dative case).

### 2.2.1 *Text Grammar vs. Sentence Grammar: Schwyzer (1942)*

In the preceding I have discussed syntactic and textual complexity in information processing, in order to account for the choice of a genitive absolute 'instead of' a conjunct participle from the point of view of text grammar, rather than describing the grammatical feature on the level of sentence-syntax. The view advocated here is to be opposed to sentence-based analyses, especially Schwyzer (1942), who in an article entitled 'Zum sog. genitivus absolutus statt participium coniunctum im Griechischen' also claims that in the case of a "gen. abs. pro ptc. coni." (99), the genitive absolute is preferred for reasons of emphasis (*ibid.*: 98: "eine weitere Stufe der Verselbständigung ist das Auftreten eines gen. abs., obschon dessen substantivischer Teil bereits im Satze vorkommt, wo also die Anwendung eines participium coniunctum näher liegen würde. Wie in entsprechenden lateinischen Beispielen (...) wird dadurch der sachliche Inhalt der absoluten Konstruktion gegenüber dem übrigen Satze herausgehoben"; *ibid.*: 102: "deutlich ist die Absicht der Heraushebung..."). Schwyzer also accounts for the possibility that the speaker changed his mind while building up the sentence, and continued his sentence differently than he originally planned (*ibid.*: 99-100: "wurde der Satz mit dem gen. abs. begonnen, gab es kaum eine andere Möglichkeit, ihn zu Ende zu führen als..."; *ibid.*: 100: "wie der Satz zuerst gedacht war, sieht man jedoch aus der Fortsetzung (...). Es hatte also vorgeschwebt..."). Schwyzer uses the word "Anakoluth" (*passim*; see especially 100: "das Anakoluth, das leicht zu vermeiden war, wird also hier wirklich der Hervorhebung dienen"). Although it is true that from the point of view of *sentence-syntax* we may speak of an anacoluthon in these cases, we may, from the point of view of text grammar, assume that once the discourse function of the genitive absolute is recognized and fully appreciated, we are not dealing with an 'irregular' (*ibid.*: 99, 102: "der illegitime gen. abs.") construction at all. In the remainder of this Section I shall discuss this discourse function of the genitive absolute ('pro part. coni.') on the basis of the examples from the works of

Xenophon as mentioned by Schwyzer. As is to be expected when the discourse function of the genitive absolute is investigated, I shall more often than not produce more context than he does.

> [25] *Hellenica* 7.4.2-4
> *καταμαθὼν δὲ ὁ Λυκομήδης μεμφομένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τοῖς συμμάχοις, ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν πολλὰ πράγματα εἶχον δι' ἐκείνους, ἀντεβοήθησε δ' αὐτοῖς οὐδείς, πείθει τοὺς μυρίους πράττειν περὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς αὐτούς. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἐδυσχέραινόν τινες τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις ὄντας φίλους γενέσθαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις αὐτῶν συμμάχους· ἐπειδὴ δὲ λογιζόμενοι ηὕρισκον οὐδὲν μεῖον Λακεδαιμονίοις ἢ σφίσιν ἀγαθὸν τὸ Ἀρκάδας μὴ προσδεῖσθαι Θηβαίων, οὕτω δὴ προσεδέχοντο τὴν τῶν Ἀρκάδων συμμαχίαν. καὶ Λυκομήδης ταῦτα πράττων, ἀπιὼν Ἀθήνηθεν δαιμονιώτατα ἀποθνῄσκει. ὄντων γὰρ παμπόλλων πλοίων, ἐκλεξάμενος τούτων ὃ ἐβούλετο, καὶ συνθέμενος τοίνυν ἀποβιβάσαι ὅποι αὐτὸς κελεύοι, εἵλετο ἐνταῦθα ἐκβῆναι ἔνθα οἱ φυγάδες ἐτύγχανον ὄντες. κἀκεῖνος μὲν οὕτως ἀποθνῄσκει, ἡ μέντοι συμμαχία ὄντως ἐπεραίνετο.*
> ***εἰπόντος δὲ Δημοτίωνος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων*** *ὡς ἡ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας φιλία καλῶς αὐτῷ δοκοίη πράττεσθαι, τοῖς μέντοι στρατηγοῖς προστάξαι* ***ἔφη*** *χρῆναι ὅπως καὶ Κόρινθος σῶα ᾖ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων· ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Κορίνθιοι, ταχὺ πέμψαντες ἱκανοὺς φρουροὺς ἑαυτῶν πάντοσε ὅπου Ἀθηναῖοι ἐφρούρουν εἶπαν αὐτοῖς ἀπιέναι, ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι δεόμενοι φρουρῶν.*
>
> Lycomedes, upon learning that the Athenians were finding fault with their allies because, while they were themselves suffering many troubles on their account, none gave them any assistance in return, persuaded the Ten Thousand to negotiate for an alliance with the Athenians. At first, indeed, some of the Athenians took it ill that, during their friendschip with the Lacedaemonians, they should become allies of their adversaries; but upon consideration they found that it was no less advantageous to the Lacedaemonians than to themselves that the Arcadians should not require the support of the Thebans, and under these circumstances they accepted the alliance with the Arcadians. Engaged in these negotiations, upon his departure from Athens Lycomedes died most clearly by the hand of the gods. For there were very many ships available and he selected from them the one he wanted and made an agreement with the sailors to land him wherever he should himself direct; and he chose to land at the very spot where the Arcadian exiles chanced to be. He, then, met his death in this way, but the alliance was really accomplished.
> **Demotion said in the Assembly of the Athenians** that while it seemed to him a good thing to be negotiating this friendship with the Arcadians, they ought, **he said**, to give instructions to their generals to see to it that Corinth also should be kept safe for the Athenian people;

> on hearing of this the Corinthians speedily sent adequate garrisons of their own to every place where Athenians were on guard and told the latter to depart, saying that they no longer had any need of garrisons.

Schwyzer (*ibid.*: 101) notes:

> Beispiele mit einem gen. abs., dessen Participium von einem verbum dicendi kommt, bietet auch Xenophon; doch wird in diesen anders als bei Herodot II 162 gerade dieses Participium später als selbständiges verbum dicendi aufgenommen (...).[18] Ein korrekter, aber langer Satz wäre durch Weglassung von *ἔφη* und die Fortsetzung *ἀκούσαντες οἱ Κορίνθιοι κτλ.* noch *τῶν Ἀθ.* zu bilden gewesen; durch die Verselbständigung des Gliedes mit *τοῖς μέντοι* mittels *ἔφη* entsteht ein Anakoluth; nachher wird mit einem neuen Satze (*ἀκ. δὲ ταῦτα κτλ.*) fortgefahren. Stellen mit verba dicendi sind auch Xen. hist. Gr. IV 8,9 und Cyr. <VI 1, 37> mit gen. abs. neben Nom., Cyr. <I 6, 14> neben Akk. Ausserdem vgl. Xen. Cyr. I 5, 5 *δεξαμένου τοῦ Κύρου οἱ βουλεύοντες γεραίτεροι αἱροῦνται αὐτὸν* (scil. *Κύρον*) *ἄρχοντα*.

In my opinion, the point is not that it would have been possible to compose "ein korrekter (...) Satz"; apart from the suggestion offered by Schwyzer, the alternative here would have been using a finite main clause (**Δημοτίων εἶπεν*, also without *ἔφη*). The question is why the genitive absolute has been preferred, and how the continuation with *ἔφη* should be explained. Sentence-grammar fails to anwer these questions.

In the passage preceding Demotion's statement in the Assembly, we were told about the accomplishment of the alliance between the Athenians and the Arcadians; this part of the text is closed off with the sentence *κἀκεῖνος μὲν οὕτως ἀποθνῄσκει, ἡ μέντοι συμμαχία ὄντως ἐπεραίνετο*, which shows all the characteristics of a closing-line: close connection to the preceding as indicated by *καί*, *μέν* ... *μέντοι* closing off the current episode, anaphora (*ἐκεῖνος*, *οὕτως*) and recapitulation (*ἀποθνῄσκει*). After Lycomedes has been abandoned as a topic, a new participant is introduced (*δέ*), and at the same time the camera shifts to the Athenian Assembly (*εἰπόντος δὲ Δημοτίωνος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων*): another example of slight discontinuity in an otherwise

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[18] Here the sentence *εἰπόντος δὲ Δημοτίωνος* ... *δεόμενοι φρουρῶν* follows, mistakenly cited as "hist. Gr. VIII 4, 4". The following corrections have also been made: For Schwyzer's citations without the Greek: "Cyr. VI 3, 7" and "Cyr. VI 6, 14", I read 'Cyr. VI 1, 37' and 'Cyr. I 6, 14', respectively (cf. Kühner-Gerth, 1898 - 1904: II, 110-111); Schwyzer's "Cyr. I 41,20" (*ταῦτ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ ἔδοξέ τι λέγειν τῷ Ἀστυάγει*) is corrected as 'Cyr. I 4, 20'.

continuous episode, as in Demotion's statement about the best attitude of the Athenians towards Corinth, the theme of accomplishing alliances and the Athenian attitude towards other states is continued (*ἡ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας φιλία καλῶς αὐτῷ δοκοίη πράττεσθαι, τοῖς μέντοι στρατηγοῖς προστάξαι ἔφη χρῆναι ὅπως καὶ Κόρινθος σῷα ᾖ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων*). Later on, the conjunct participle in the nominative case *ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Κορίνθιοι* effects a contextually prepared topic shift to the party of the Corinthians at the onset of a new DU.

The genitive absolute is preferred here for reasons of topic management and information processing. Demotion had not yet been introduced as a discourse participant, but his presence in the discourse is not as important as the content of his statement. If he had been introduced in the nominative case, he would have been given him more prominence as a discourse participant than he deserves, given the nature of this episode. He is a discourse participant of relatively minor importance,[19] who is introduced and at the very same time dismissed in the genitive absolute whose primary function is shifting the camera to the Athenian Assembly. Once the articulation of the text triggers the use of a genitive absolute, this construction, too, offers the opportunity of adding a relatively large amount of information to it, i.e. the *ὡς*-clause dependent on its verbal constituent. The syntactic complexity results in a shift to a relatively simple structure with *ἔφη*;[20] the ensuing 'anacoluthon', then, should be taken as a manifestation of the possibility in Ancient Greek that by the requirements of the articulation of a discourse episode, the grammar of discourse may overrule the grammar of an individual sentence.

The situation in *Hellenica* 4.8.9, cited by Schwyzer, is comparable in that:

a participant has to be (re-)introduced into the discourse
this participant performs the action of 'speaking', and is then brought off the stage
a clause of considerable length presenting the speaker's statement is dependent on the verbal constituent presenting the action of 'speaking'

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19 This is the only time Demotion is mentioned in the *Hellenica*.
20 For a study on various manifestations of such 'slippage' as characteristic of oral grammar, see Slings (1994a).

the perspective is maintained by ἔφη whose subject is the speaker introduced as the subject of the genitive absolute

after the statement, a topic switch is articulated by means of the aorist participle of **ἀκούω** + the anaphoric pronoun **ταῦτα**, and the new topic acts in reponse to the statement

This is the relevant passage in full:

[26] *Hellenica* 4.8.7–9

*καὶ τὸν μὲν χειμῶνα ἐν τοιούτοις ὄντες διῆγον· ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι ναῦς τε πολλὰς συμπληρώσας καὶ ξενικὸν προσμισθωσάμενος ἔπλευσεν ὁ Φαρνάβαζός τε καὶ ὁ Κόνων μετ' αὐτοῦ διὰ νήσων εἰς Μῆλον, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὁρμώμενοι εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα. καταπλεύσας δὲ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Φαρὰς ἐδῄωσε ταύτην τὴν χώραν, ἔπειτα καὶ ἄλλοσε ἀποβαίνων τῆς παραθαλαττίας ἐκακούργει ὅ τι ἐδύνατο. φοβούμενος δὲ τήν τε ἀλιμενότητα τῆς χώρας καὶ τὰ τῆς βοηθείας καὶ τὴν σπανοσιτίαν, ταχύ τε ἀνέστρεψε καὶ ἀποπλέων ὡρμίσθη τῆς Κυθηρίας εἰς Φοινικοῦντα.*

*ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἔχοντες τὴν πόλιν τῶν Κυθηρίων φοβηθέντες μὴ κατὰ κράτος ἁλοῖεν ἐξέλιπον τὰ τείχη, ἐκείνους μὲν ὑποσπόνδους ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὴν Λακωνικήν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπισκευάσας τὸ τῶν Κυθηρίων τεῖχος φρουρούς τε καὶ Νικόφημον Ἀθηναῖον ἁρμοστὴν ἐν τοῖς Κυθήροις κατέλιπε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας καὶ εἰς Ἰσθμὸν τῆς Κορινθίας καταπλεύσας, καὶ παρακελευσάμενος τοῖς συμμάχοις προθύμως τε πολεμεῖν καὶ ἄνδρας πιστοὺς φαίνεσθαι βασιλεῖ, καταλιπὼν αὐτοῖς χρήματα ὅσα εἶχεν, ᾤχετο ἐπ' οἴκου ἀποπλέων.* ***λέγοντος δὲ τοῦ Κόνωνος*** *⟨ὡς⟩ εἰ ἐῴη αὐτὸν ἔχειν τὸ ναυτικόν, θρέψοι μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν νήσων, καταπλεύσας δ' εἰς τὴν πατρίδα συναναστήσοι τά τε μακρὰ τείχη τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ τεῖχος, οὐ εἰδέναι* ***ἔφη*** *ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐδὲν ἂν βαρύτερον γένοιτο, καὶ τοῦτο οὖν,* ***ἔφη****, σὺ τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις κεχαρισμένος ἔσει, τοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους τετιμωρημένος· ἐφ' ᾧ γὰρ πλεῖστα ἐπόνησαν, ἀτελὲς αὐτοῖς ποιήσεις. ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν προθύμως εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ χρήματα προσέθηκεν αὐτῷ εἰς τὸν ἀνατειχισμόν.*

In such occupations they passed the winter; but at the opening of spring, Pharnabazus fully manned a large number of ship, hired a force of mercenaries besides, and sailed, and Conon with him, through the islands to Melos, and making that their base, went on to Lacedaemon. And first Pharnabazus put in at Pherae and laid waste this region; then he made descents at one point and another of the coast and did whatever harm he could. Being fearful because the country was destitute of harbors, because the Lacedaemonians might send relief forces, and because provisions were scarce in the land, he quickly

> turned about, and sailing away, came to anchor at Phoenicus in the island of Cythera.
>
> Those who held possession of the city of the Cytherians abandoned their walls through fear of being captured by storm. These people he allowed to depart to Laconia under a truce; he himself repaired the wall of the Cytherians and left in Cythera a garrison of his own and Nicophemus, an Athenian, as governor. Thereupon he sailed to the Isthmus of Corinth and exhorted the allies to carry on the war zealously and show themselves men faithful to the King, and left them all the money that he had and sailed off homeward. Now **Conon said** that if he (*sc.* Pharnabazus) would allow him to have the fleet, he would maintain it by contributions from the islands and would put in at Athens and aid the Athenians in rebuilding their long walls and the wall around Piraeus; **he said** that he knew nothing could be a heavier blow to the Lacedaemonians than this. "And by this act, therefore", **he said**, "you will have conferred a favor upon the Athenians and have taken vengeance upon the Lacedaemonians, inasmuch as you will undo for them the deed for whose accomplishment they underwent the most toil and trouble". Pharnabazus, upon hearing this, eagerly dispatched him to Athens and gave him additional money for the rebuilding of the walls.

Again, a genitive absolute has been chosen for reasons of topic management. Conon had been an active discourse participant, but had disappeared as such. He was last mentioned in 4.8.7 in connection with Pharnabazus (*συμπληρώσας καὶ … προσμισθωσάμενος ἔπλευσεν ὁ Φαρνάβαζός τε καὶ ὁ Κόνων μετ' αὐτοῦ*; note also the third person *singular* verb forms). The discourse remains concerned with Pharnabazus, who, in response to Conon's words, sends him to Athens (*ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἀκούσας ταῦτα*). The fact that Conon had to be properly re-introduced (textual complexity), before being send off[21] triggers the use of a genitive absolute construction, and the relatively large amount of information that is provided by the preposed, sentence-initially placed subordinate construction—syntactic complexity ensuing from the dependent clause presenting Conon's statement, this time including a shift from indirect to direct discourse—accounts for the 'slippage' to a relatively less complex structure with *ἔφη* (twice).

[21] Conon does not disappear immediately from view: he still has to perform a syntactic function in the sequel (*ὁ … Φαρνάβαζος … ἀπέστειλεν αὐτόν*); compare the genitive absolute used in Chapter 2, Section 6, [14] and discussion.

The following instance cited by Schwyzer, *Cyropaedia* 1.6.14,[22] is somewhat more complicated:

[27] *Cyropaedia* 1.6.13-15
*ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτ' ἀπέφησα, ἐπήρου με αὖ πάλιν εἴ τινας τέχνας ἐδίδαξεν, αἳ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων κράτισται ἂν σύμμαχοι γένοιντο. ἀποφήσαντος δέ μου καὶ τοῦτο ἀνέκρινας αὖ σὺ καὶ τόδε εἴ τί μ' ἐπαίδευσεν ὡς ἂν δυναίμην στρατιᾷ προθυμίαν ἐμβαλεῖν, λέγων ὅτι τὸ πᾶν διαφέρει ἐν παντὶ ἔργῳ προθυμία ἀθυμίας. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἀνένευον, ἤλεγχες αὖ σὺ εἴ τινα λόγον ποιήσαιτο διδάσκων περὶ τοῦ πείθεσθαι τὴν στρατιάν, ὡς ἄν τις μάλιστα μηχανῷτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο παντάπασιν ἄρρητον ἐφαίνετο, τέλος δή μ' ἐπήρου ὅ τι ποτὲ διδάσκων στρατηγίαν φαίη με διδάσκειν. κἀγὼ δὴ ἐνταῦθα ἀποκρίνομαι ὅτι τὰ τακτικά. καὶ σὺ γελάσας διῆλθές μοι παρατιθεὶς ἕκαστον τί εἴη ὄφελος στρατιᾷ τακτικῶν ἄνευ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, τί δ' ἄνευ τοῦ ὑγιαίνειν, τί δ' ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπίστασθαι τὰς ηὑρημένας εἰς πόλεμον τέχνας, τί δ' ἄνευ τοῦ πείθεσθαι. ὡς δέ* ***μοι*** *καταφανὲς ἐποίησας ὅτι μικρόν τι μέρος εἴη στρατηγίας τὰ τακτικά,* ***ἐπερομένου μου εἴ τι τούτων σύ με διδάξαι ἱκανὸς εἴης****, ἀπιόντα* ***με*** *ἐκέλευσας τοῖς στρατηγικοῖς νομιζομένοις ἀνδράσι διαλέγεσθαι καὶ πυθέσθαι πῇ ἕκαστα τούτων γίγνεται. ἐκ τούτου δ' ἐγὼ συνῆν τούτοις, οὓς μάλιστα φρονίμους περὶ τούτων ἤκουον εἶναι. καὶ περὶ μὲν τροφῆς ἐπείσθην ἱκανὸν εἶναι ὑπάρχον ὅ τι Κυαξάρης ἔμελλε παρέξειν ἡμῖν, περὶ δὲ ὑγιείας, ἀκούων καὶ ὁρῶν ὅτι καὶ πόλεις αἱ χρῄζουσαι ὑγιαίνειν ἰατροὺς αἱροῦνται καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἕνεκεν ἰατροὺς ἐξάγουσιν, οὕτω καὶ ἐγὼ ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ τέλει τούτῳ ἐγενόμην, εὐθὺς τούτου ἐπεμελήθην, καὶ οἶμαι, ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ, πάνυ ἱκανοὺς τὴν ἰατρικὴν τέχνην ἕξειν μετ' ἐμαυτοῦ ἄνδρας.*

"…I said 'no' to this also, and then you asked me once more whether he had taught me any arts that would be the best helps in the business of war. I said 'no' to this as well; you put this further question, whether he had put me through any training so that I might be able to inspire my soldiers with enthusiasm, adding that in every project enthusiasm or faintheartedness made all the difference in the world. I shook my head in response to this likewise, and then you questioned me again whether he had given me any lessons to teach me how best to secure obedience on the part of an army. This also appeared not to have been discussed at all, and then you finally asked me what in the world he had been teaching me that he professed to have been teaching me generalship. And thereupon I answered, 'tactics'. And you laughed and went through it all, explaining point by point, as you asked of what

[22] Cited incorrectly by Schwyzer as "Cyr. VI 6, 14"; see n. [18]. *Cyropaedia* 6.1.37, showing a postposed genitive absolute, is discussed below.

> conceivable use tactics could be to an army, without provisions and health, and of what use it could be without the knowledge of the arts invented for warfare and without obedience. You had made it clear **to me** that tactics was only a small part of generalship, and then **I asked you if you could teach me any of those things**; you bade **me** go and talk with the men who were reputed to be masters of military science and find out how each one of those problems was to be met. Thereupon I joined myself to those who I heard were most proficient in those branches. And in regard to provisions—I was persuaded that what Cyaxares was to furnish us was enough if it should be forthcoming; and in regard to health—as I had always heard and observed that states that wished to be healthy elected a board of health, and also that generals for the sake of their soldiers took physicians out with them, so also upon having been appointed to this position, I immediately took thought for this; and I think", he added, "that you will find that I have with me men eminent in the medical profession".

It shows a genitive absolute, the subject of which (μου) performs a syntactic function in both the preceding ὡς-clause (μοι) and the following matrix clause, where it is restated in the accusative case as με. Further, the passage is taken from direct speech.

First, it should be noted that the preposed, DU- and sentence-initially placed clauses are used for segmentation of the speech.[23] From the start of the citation onwards, the speech is structured as follows:

| *Sentence-initially placed clause* | *Matrix clause* |
|---|---|
| ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἀπέφησα | ἐπήρου με αὖ πάλιν εἴ … |
| ἀποφήσαντος δέ μου καὶ τοῦτο | ἀνέκρινας αὖ σὺ καὶ τόδε εἴ … |
| ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἀνένευον | ἤλεγχες αὖ σὺ εἴ … |
| ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο παντάπασιν | |
| ἄρρητον ἐφαίνετο | τέλος δή μ᾽ ἐπήρου ὅ τι … |

The predominant use of subclauses is to be explained from their contibution to the organization in phases of the discourse. The one genitive absolute resembles the surrounding subclauses, except for the fact that, at the point where the genitive absolute appears, the act of 'saying no' is thematized—note the verbal repetition of ἀπέφησα … ἀποφήσαντος, and the fact that in the case of the genitive absolute, as opposed to the surrounding subclauses, the verbal constituent takes

[23] The preposed, but not sentence-initially placed subclause ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ τέλει τούτῳ ἐγενόμην picks up the topic περὶ δὲ ὑγιείας after the intervening participial clause ἀκούων καὶ ὁρῶν ὅτι… .

the clause-initial position. The genitive absolute, then, makes for discourse continuity at the point where two questions seem to belong more closely together than in the other instances—cf. the fact that, here alone, **καὶ τόδε** is added in the matrix clause.

This structure is abandoned[24] after the last question, marked by **τέλος δή**, when the topic is 'tactics' (**τὰ τακτικά**). With the subclause **ὡς δέ μοι καταφανὲς ἐποίησας ὅτι μικρόν τι μέρος εἴη στρατηγίας τὰ τακτικά** the preceding is summarized, and the path is layed for the next question to be asked. This question is presented by means of the genitive absolute under consideration: **ἐπερομένου μου εἴ τι τούτων σύ με διδάξαι ἱκανὸς εἴης**. Given the structure of question and answer in the entire episode, the piece of information 'I asked you if you could teach me any of those things' had to be presented in a separate clause, syntactically detached from its matrix clause. As the onset of the next phase has already been articulated by the summarizing **ὡς**-clause, a finite subclause is not an option here; therefore a participial clause is used. The genitive absolute is preferred to a conjunct participle—not so much for reasons of 'Heraushebung' of its content, as Schwyzer would have it, but for reasons of information processing: not only the dative **μοι** in the **ὡς**-clause, but also the accusative **με** in the matrix clause are too strongly integrated into their respective clauses to be able to carry a conjunct participial clause introducing a question.

An instance of an 'irregular' genitive absolute whose subject is referred back to in the accusative case in the following matrix clause, as cited by Schwyzer from Xenophon's works, is:

> [28] *Cyropaedia* 1.5.4-6
> *Κυαξάρης δὲ [ὁ τοῦ Ἀστυάγους παῖς] ἐπεὶ ᾐσθάνετο τήν τ' ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν συνισταμένων ἐφ' ἑαυτόν, αὐτός τε εὐθέως ὅσα ἐδύνατο ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο καὶ εἰς Πέρσας ἔπεμπε πρός τε τὸ κοινὸν καὶ πρὸς Καμβύσην τὸν τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἔχοντα καὶ βασιλεύοντα ἐν Πέρσαις. ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Κῦρον, δεόμενος αὐτοῦ πειρᾶσθαι ἄρχοντα ἐλθεῖν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, εἴ τινας πέμποι στρατιώτας τὸ Περσῶν κοινόν. ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ὁ Κῦρος διατετελεκὼς τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις δέκα ἔτη ἐν τοῖς τελείοις ἀνδράσιν ἦν.* ***οὕτω δὴ δεξαμένου τοῦ Κύρου*** *οἱ βουλεύοντες γεραίτεροι αἱροῦνται* ***αὐτὸν*** *ἄρχοντα τῆς εἰς Μήδους στρατιᾶς. ἔδοσαν δὲ αὐτῷ*

[24] Here, the clause dependent on the verb of 'questioning' is introduced by ὅ τι, not by εἴ.

*καὶ προσελέσθαι διακοσίους τῶν ὁμοτίμων, τῶν δ' αὖ διακοσίων ἑκάστῳ τέτταρας ἔδωκαν προσελέσθαι καὶ τούτους ἐκ τῶν ὁμοτίμων· γίγνονται μὲν δὴ οὗτοι χίλιοι· τῶν δ' αὖ χιλίων τούτων ἑκάστῳ ἔταξαν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Περσῶν δέκα μὲν πελταστὰς προσελέσθαι, δέκα δὲ σφενδονήτας, δέκα δὲ τοξότας· καὶ οὕτως ἐγένοντο μύριοι μὲν τοξόται, μύριοι δὲ πελτασταί, μύριοι δὲ σφενδονῆται· χωρὶς δὲ τούτων οἱ χίλιοι ὑπῆρχον. τοσαύτη μὲν δὴ στρατιὰ τῷ Κύρῳ ἐδόθη. ἐπεὶ δὲ ᾑρέθη τάχιστα, ἤρχετο πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν· καλλιερησάμενος δὲ τότε προσῃρεῖτο τοὺς διακοσίους· ἐπεὶ δὲ προσείλοντο καὶ οὗτοι δὴ τοὺς τέτταρας ἕκαστοι, συνέλεξεν αὐτοὺς καὶ εἶπε τότε πρῶτον ἐν αὐτοῖς τάδε.*

Cyaxares—he heard of the plot and of the warlike preparations of the nations allied against him—without delay made what counter preparations he could himself and also sent to Persia both to the general assembly and to his brother-in-law, Cambyses, who was king of Persia. And he sent word to Cyrus, too, asking him to try to come as commander of the men, in case the Persian state should send any troops. For Cyrus had by this time completed his ten years among the youths also and was now in the class of mature men. **So Cyrus accepted the invitation**, and the elders in council chose **him** commander of the expedition to Media. And they further permitted him to choose two hundred peers to accompany him, and to each one of the two hundred peers in turn they gave authority to choose four more, these also from the peers. That made a thousand. And each one of the thousand in their turn they bade choose in addition from the common people of the Persians ten targeteers, ten slingers, and ten bowmen. That made ten thousand bowmen, ten thousand targeteers, and ten thousand slingers—not counting the original thousand. So large was the army given to Cyrus. Now as soon as he was chosen, his first act was to consult the gods; and not till he had sacrificed and the omens were propitious, did he proceed to choose his two hundred men. Then these also chose each his four, and he called them all together and then addressed them for the first time as follows.

The genitive absolute is preposed and occupies the sentence-initial position. Its subject (*τοῦ Κύρου*) is referred back to later in the sentence by the anaphoric pronoun in the accusative case *αὐτόν*.[25] The sequence consisting of sending the invitation and accepting it is interrupted by a *γάρ*-clause informing the reader/hearer of the position that Cyrus had reached at the time. As *οὕτω δή* indicates, the reader/hearer should be ready for continuation of the narrative line

[25] The preposed participial clause could have been a conjunct participial clause; for the possibility, see [21] above.

where it had been broken off, now that he has been informed by the intervening γάρ-clause. A conjunct participle would suffice;[26] but here, this next step on the narrative line is better presented in a clause that is syntactically detached from its matrix clause: a genitive absolute.

Cyrus, although already present in the discourse, becomes an *active* discourse participant only at the point where the genitive absolute is used: the fact that he accepted the invitation is crucial in that from that point onwards, Cyaxares, with whom the citation starts, is completely disregarded, and the text continues with Cyrus: he is chosen commander of the expedition to Media (αἱροῦνται αὐτόν); subsequently, information off the main narrative line is presented, starting with ἔδοσαν δὲ αὐτῷ (*sc.* Cyrus, who is again referred to by an anaphoric pronoun), up to and including the closing line τοσαύτη μὲν δὴ στρατιὰ τῷ Κύρῳ ἐδόθη. Then the sentence-initially placed subclause ἐπεὶ δὲ ᾑρέθη τάχιστα typically takes care of the thematic organization of the text: it restates Cyrus' election, picks up the point in the narrative that had already been reached before the digression, and therewith launches the new sequence paragraph[27] in which Cyrus is the continuous topic, without further reference (ᾑρέθη, ἤρχετο, καλλιερησάμενος … προσῃρεῖτο), up to and including Cyrus' speech (συνέλεξεν … καὶ εἶπε). As we have seen before, a genitive absolute construction is used where a conjunct participle would have been possible from a syntactical point of view in order to firmly establish a participant as an active discourse topic.

According to Schwyzer, the emphatic function of the genitive absolute is especially clear when it occupies a position early in the sentence and is followed immediately, or almost immediately, by the (possibly unexpressed) nominal constituent with which it could have been joined.[28] The examples from the works of Xenophon will now be reconsidered within a wider context.[29]

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[26] Compare [20] above.

[27] Cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.2, [7].

[28] *Ibid.*: 102: 'Deutlich ist die Absicht der Heraushebung, wenn der gen. abs. und das Bezugswort, das auch in einer Verbalform enthalten sein kann, nur durch ein Wort oder auch gar nicht getrennt sind'.

[29] *Ibid.*: 102: 'Xenophon hat Cyr. <I 4, 20> ταῦτ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ ἔδοξέ (der Sprecher) τι λέγειν τῷ Ἀστυάγει oder I 4, 2 ἀσθενήσαντος αὐτοῦ (des πάππος) οὐδέποτε ἀπέλειπε τὸν πάππον, an. II 6, 3 οἱ ἔφοροι ἤδη ἔξω ὄντος [αὐτοῦ] ἀποστρέφειν αὐτὸν ἐπειρῶντο; mit doppeltem gen. abs. Xen. An. V 2, 24

[29] *Cyropaedia* 1.4.1-2
*τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ πολλὰ ἐλάλει ὁ Κῦρος· τέλος δὲ ἡ μὲν μήτηρ ἀπῆλθε, Κῦρος δὲ κατέμεινε καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐτρέφετο. καὶ ταχὺ μὲν τοῖς ἡλικιώταις συνεκέκρατο ὥστε οἰκείως διακεῖσθαι, ταχὺ δὲ τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν ἀνήρτητο, προσιὼν καὶ ἔνδηλος ὢν ὅτι ἠσπάζετο αὐτῶν τοὺς υἱεῖς, ὥστε εἴ τι τοῦ βασιλέως δέοιντο, τοὺς παῖδας ἐκέλευον τοῦ Κύρου δεῖσθαι διαπράξασθαι σφίσιν, ὁ δὲ Κῦρος, ὅ τι δέοιντο αὐτοῦ οἱ παῖδες, διὰ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν περὶ παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο διαπράττεσθαι, καὶ ὁ Ἀστυάγης δὲ ὅ τι δέοιτο αὐτοῦ ὁ Κῦρος οὐδὲν ἐδύνατο ἀντέχειν μὴ οὐ χαρίζεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ* ***ἀσθενήσαντος αὐτοῦ*** *οὐδέποτε ἀπέλειπε* ***τὸν πάππον*** *οὐδὲ κλαίων ποτὲ ἐπαύετο, ἀλλὰ δῆλος ἦν πᾶσιν ὅτι ὑπερεφοβεῖτο μή οἱ ὁ πάππος ἀποθάνῃ· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ νυκτὸς εἴ τινος δέοιτο Ἀστυάγης, πρῶτος ᾐσθάνετο Κῦρος καὶ πάντων ἀοκνότατα ἀνεπήδα ὑπηρετήσων ὅ τι οἴοιτο χαριεῖσθαι, ὥστε παντάπασιν ἀνεκτήσατο τὸν Ἀστυάγην.*

In this way Cyrus often chattered on. At last his mother went away, but Cyrus remained behind and grew up in Media. Soon he had become so intimately associated with other boys of his own years that he was on easy terms with them. And soon he had won their father's hearts by visiting them and showing that he loved their sons; so that, if they desired any favor of the king, they bade their sons ask Cyrus to secure it for them. And Cyrus, because of his kindness of heart and his desire for popularity, made every effort to secure for the boys whatever they asked. And Astyages could not refuse any favor that Cyrus asked of him. For **when his grandfather had fallen sick**, Cyrus never left **him** nor ceased to weep but plainly showed to all that he greatly feared that his grandfather might die. For even at night, if Astyages wanted anything, Cyrus was the first to discover it and with greater alacrity than any one else he would jump up to perform whatever service he thought would give him pleasure, so that he won Astyages' heart completely.

The peculiarity of this example resides in the fact that the subject of the genitive absolute is the anaphoric pronoun *αὐτός*, to be specified later on in the sentence in the accusative (*τὸν πάππον*). Because the subject of the genitive absolute is the anaphoric pronoun *αὐτός*, one of the two active discourse participants is continued as a discourse topic. At the onset of this sentence, *ἀσθενήσαντος αὐτοῦ* might be considered ambiguous: is the referent of the anaphoric pronoun

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*μαχομένων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπορουμένων θεῶν τις αὐτοῖς μηχανὴν σωτηρίας δίδωσιν*'. The occurrence of the genitive absolute in *Cyropaedia* 1.4.20 has already been discussed in Chapter 2, Section 6, NMP 6, [15].

**αὐτοῦ** Astyages—the subject of the preceding main clause—or Cyrus, who was last mentioned by name? As the sequel shows Astyages is meant. The subject of the preceding main clause is usually the most likely candidate, and here it has been marked linguistically (*καὶ ὁ Ἀστυάγης δέ*; note *δέ*). As a corollary, Cyrus is continued as the subject of the upcoming main verbs (*ἀπέλειπε ... οὐδέ ... ἐπαύετο, ἀλλά ... ἦν*: zero-anafora).

Remains the fact that the genitive absolute is 'irregular', since its subject does perform a syntactic function in the matrix clause. When the context in which the sentence under consideration occurs is taken into consideration, it is plain why the demand of case-agreement requiring a conjunct participle is disregarded here. The genitive absolute is used at the onset of an embedded paragraph exemplifying Cyrus' devotion towards Atyages which serves as an explanation (*καὶ γάρ*) for the preceding statement that Astyages could not refuse any favor that Cyrus asked of him. At this point, the text has to be reorganised. The relatively less strongly desententialized genitive absolute has the advantage of having its own subject expressed and therewith offers the opportunity of continuing Astyages as a discourse topic across this discourse boundary.

[30] *Anabasis* 2.6.2-4

*καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἕως μὲν πόλεμος ἦν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παρέμενεν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰρήνη ἐγένετο, πείσας τὴν αὑτοῦ πόλιν ὡς οἱ Θρᾷκες ἀδικοῦσι τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ διαπραξάμενος ὡς ἐδύνατο παρὰ τῶν ἐφόρων ἐξέπλει ὡς πολεμήσων τοῖς ὑπὲρ Χερρονήσου καὶ Περίνθου Θρᾳξίν. ἐπεὶ δὲ μεταγνόντες πως οἱ ἔφοροι* ***ἤδη ἔξω ὄντος [αὐτοῦ]*** *ἀποστρέφειν* ***αὐτὸν*** *ἐπειρῶντο ἐξ Ἰσθμοῦ, ἐνταῦθα οὐκέτι πείθεται, ἀλλ᾽ ᾤχετο πλέων εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον. ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐθανατώθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ τελῶν ὡς ἀπειθῶν.*

For, in the first place, as long as the Lacedaemonians were at war with the Athenians, he bore his part with them; then, on the arrival of peace, he persuaded his state that the Thracians were injuring the Greeks; he gained his point as best he could from the ephors, and set sail with the intention of making war upon the Thracians who dwelt beyond the Chersonese and Perinthus. When the ephors having changed their minds for some reason or other—**he had already gone**—tried to turn him back from the Isthmus of Corinth: at that point he declined to render further obedience, but went sailing off to the Hellespont. As a result he was condemned to death by the authorities at Sparta on the ground of disobedience to orders.

From the point of view of information processing, the reader/hearer needs to be informed that Clearchus had already gone in order for the sequence 'the ephors changed their minds for some reason or other and tried to turn him back from the Isthmus of Corinth' to be fully comprehensible. Properly speaking, this information is not to be connected to the person of Clearchus himself (*αὐτόν*), but to the actions performed by the ephors. The participial clause describes the situation in which the ephors changed their minds, and tried to *recall* him. Therefore, a conjunct participle is disregarded here, and a participial clause that is syntactically detached from its leading clause has been used. This genitive absolute, serving as a kind of parenthesis outside the main construction, illustrates the correspondence between the grammatical form of a clause and its informative function.

[31] *Anabasis* 5.2.21-25
*ἐνταῦθα παρεσκευάζοντο τὴν ἄφοδον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν σταυροὺς ἕκαστοι τοὺς καθ' αὑτοὺς διῄρουν, καὶ τοὺς ἀχρείους καὶ φορτία ἔχοντάς τε ἐξεπέμποντο καὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, καταλιπόντες οἱ λοχαγοὶ οἷς ἕκαστος ἐπίστευεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξαντο ἀποχωρεῖν, ἐπεξέθεον ἔνδοθεν πολλοὶ γέρρα καὶ λόγχας ἔχοντες καὶ κνημῖδας καὶ κράνη Παφλαγονικά, καὶ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἀνέβαινον τὰς ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τῆς εἰς τὴν ἄκραν φερούσης ὁδοῦ· ὥστε οὐδὲ διώκειν ἀσφαλὲς ἦν κατὰ τὰς πύλας τὰς εἰς τὴν ἄκραν φερούσας. καὶ γὰρ ξύλα μεγάλα ἐπερρίπτουν ἄνωθεν, ὥστε χαλεπὸν ἦν καὶ μένειν καὶ ἀπιέναι· καὶ ἡ νὺξ φοβερὰ ἦν ἡ ἐπιοῦσα.* ***μαχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπορουμένων*** *θεῶν τις* ***αὐτοῖς*** *μηχανὴν σωτηρίας δίδωσιν. ἐξαπίνης γὰρ ἀνέλαμψεν οἰκία τῶν ἐν δεξιᾷ ὅτου δὴ ἐνάψαντος. ὡς δ' αὕτη ξυνέπιπτεν, ἔφευγον οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν δεξιᾷ οἰκιῶν. ὡς δὲ ἔμαθεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν τοῦτο παρὰ τῆς τύχης, ἐνάπτειν ἐκέλευε καὶ τὰς ἐν ἀριστερᾷ οἰκίας, αἳ ξύλιναι ἦσαν, ὥστε καὶ ταχὺ ἐκαίοντο. ἔφευγον οὖν καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν οἰκιῶν.*

Then they made preparations for the withdrawal: they tore down the palisades, each division taking those on its own front, and sent off the men who were unfit for service or were carrying burdens, and likewise the greater part of the hoplites, the captains keeping behind only those troops that they each relied upon. They no sooner began to retire than there rushed out upon them from within a great crowd of men armed with wicker shields, spears, greaves, and Paphlagonian helmets, while others set about climbing to the tops of the houses that were on either side of the road leading up to the citadel. The result was that even a pursuit in the direction of the gates that led into the citadel was unsafe; for they would hurl down great logs from above, so that it was difficult

> either to remain or to retire. And the approach of night was also a cause for fear. **In the midst of their fighting and perplexity** some god gave **to the Greeks** a means of salvation. For of a sudden one of the houses on the right broke into a blaze, set on fire by somebody or other. Then this house began to fall in, and a general flight from the other houses on the right side of the road ensued. Xenophon grasped this lesson which chance had given him, and gave orders to set fire to the houses on the left also, which were of wood and so fell to burning very quickly. The result was that the people in these houses likewise took to flight.

This example is a rather familiar one:[30] at the onset of a new DU, the text continues at the point where it had stopped. Narrative time is not propelled forward, but maintained. A sentence-initially placed genitive absolute resumes the situation described in the preceding unit; the situation that was very strongly implied there (their fight and awkward situation) is turned into the frame of reference for what follows: the opportunity for salvation. A textual boundary is articulated by means of the (resumptive) genitive absolute, but the current topic is continued (*αὐτῶν*)[31] while a new 'participant' (*θεῶν τις*) is added to the set. Topic management at a point of referent discontinuity and the text-organizing function of securing coherence by resuming information in order to prepare the reader/hearer for the pivot of the story trigger the use of the genitive absolute.

The remaining instances deal with postposed genitive absolute constructions. In the part of Schwyzer's article that opens with "der illegitime gen. abs. kann aber auch nach dem angeblichen Bezugswort stehen, oft am Satzende" (Schwyzer, *ibid.*: 102ff.), he starts from Herodotus 1.178: *κεῖται (Βαβυλὼν) ἐν πεδίῳ μεγάλῳ, μέγαθος ἐοῦσα μέτωπον ἕκαστον εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίων ἐούσης τετραγώνου* ('it lies in a great plain, and is in shape a square, each side fifteen miles in length'; Schwyzer: "statt anscheinend korrektem *ἐοῦσα τετράγωνος*") and 2.134: *πυραμίδα δὲ καὶ οὗτος κατελίπετο πολλὸν ἐλάσσω τοῦ πατρός, εἴκοσι ποδῶν καταδέουσαν κῶλον*

[30] Cf. the description of [12] of Chapter 4, Section 4.3.1.

[31] The function of continuing the current topic as performed by the anaforic pronoun *αὐτός*, the subject of the preposed, sentence-initially placed genitive absolute must have been so well known to the Greek reader/hearer that Xenophon could write *μαχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπορουμένων θεῶν τις* (instead of the also well-known expression *τις θεῶν*), without there being the risk of anyone interpreting *θεῶν* as the subject of *ἀπορουμένων*.

ἕκαστον τριῶν πλέθρων, ἐούσης τετραγώνου (Schwyzer: "statt ἐοῦσαν τετράγωνον"), λίθου δὲ ἐς τὸ ἥμισυ Αἰθιοπικοῦ ('this king, too, left a pyramid, but far smaller than his father's, each side twenty feet short of three hundred feet long, square at the base, and as much as half its height of Ethiopian stone'), and argues: "[in these instances] liegt es nahe, an ein Anakoluth in umgekehrter Folge wie die zu Anfang besprochenen zu denken. Aber die Struktur der beiden Sätze ist feiner: die beiden gleichlautenden gen. abs. gehören nicht zu den Hauptverba und gehen nicht den vorhergehenden konjunkten Participien ἐοῦσα und ἐοῦσαν parallel, sondern sind diesen untergeordnet, was anders nur durch eine Parenthese oder hier besser Opisthothese nach meiner Terminologie hätte ausgedrückt werden können. Also ist hier der gen. abs. einfach eine Opisthothese in konzentrierter Form". The general gist of his argument, it seems, is that these postposed genitive absolutes form an independent information unit, and are therefore syntactically detached from their matrix clause. As such, they may be seen as presenting some kind of 'afterthought'.

Schwyzer gives two examples from the works of Xenophon, which will now be discussed ([32] and [33]).

> [32] *Cyropaedia* 6.1.36-38
> ὁ οὖν Κῦρος καταμαθὼν ταῦτα ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν καὶ μόνος μόνῳ ἔλεξεν· Ὁρῶ σε, ἔφη, ὦ Ἀράσπα, φοβούμενόν τε ἐμὲ καὶ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ δεινῶς ἔχοντα. παῦσαι οὖν τούτων· ἐγὼ γὰρ θεούς τε ἀκούω ἔρωτος ἡττῆσθαι, ἀνθρώπους τε οἶδα καὶ μάλα δοκοῦντας φρονίμους εἶναι οἷα πεπόνθασιν ὑπ' ἔρωτος· καὶ αὐτὸς δ' ἐμαυτοῦ κατέγνων μὴ ἂν καρτερῆσαι ὥστε συνὼν καλοῖς ἀμελεῖν αὐτῶν. καὶ σοὶ δὲ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος ἐγὼ αἴτιός εἰμι· ἐγὼ γάρ σε συγκατεῖρξα τούτῳ τῷ ἀμάχῳ πράγματι. καὶ ὁ Ἀράσπας ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ σὺ μέν, ὦ Κῦρε, καὶ ταῦτα ὅμοιος εἶ οἷόσπερ καὶ τἆλλα, πρᾶός τε καὶ συγγνώμων τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἁμαρτημάτων· ἐμὲ δ', ἔφη, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι καταδύουσι τῷ ἄχει. ὡς γὰρ ὁ θροῦς διῆλθε τῆς ἐμῆς συμφορᾶς, οἱ μὲν ἐχθροὶ ἐφήδονταί μοι, οἱ δὲ φίλοι προσιόντες συμβουλεύουσιν ἐκποδὼν ἔχειν ἐμαυτόν, μή τι καὶ **πάθω** ὑπὸ σοῦ, **ὡς ἠδικηκότος ἐμοῦ μεγάλα**. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν· Εὖ τοίνυν ἴσθι, ὦ Ἀράσπα, ὅτι ταύτῃ τῇ δόξῃ οἷός τ' εἶ ἐμοί τε ἰσχυρῶς χαρίσασθαι καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους μεγάλα ὠφελῆσαι. Εἰ γὰρ γένοιτο, ἔφη ὁ Ἀράσπας, ὅ τι ἐγώ σοι ἐν καιρῷ ἂν γενοίμην [αὖ χρήσιμος].
>
> So Cyrus, upon learning of this, sent for him and had a talk with him in private. "I see, Araspas", said he, "that you are afraid of me and terribly overcome with shame. Do not feel that way, pray; for I have

heard say that even gods are victims of love; and as for mortals, I know what even some who are considered very discreet have suffered from love. And I have myself acknowledged that I would not have the strength to be thrown in contact with beauty and be indifferent to it. Besides, I am myself responsible for your condition, for it was I that shut you up with this irresistible creature". "Aye, Cyrus", said Araspas, interrupting him, "you are in this, just as in everything else, gentle and forgiving of human errors. Other men make me ready to sink with my shame; for ever since the report of my fall got out, my enemies have been exulting over me, while my friends come to me and advise me to keep out of the way, for fear that **I suffer** from you **for committing so great a wrong**". "Let me tell you then, Araspas", said Cyrus, "that by reason of this very report which people have heard in regard to you, you are in a position to do me a very great favor and to be of great assistance to our allies". "Would that some occasion might arise", answered Araspas, "in which I could be of service to you".

The subject of the genitive absolute is the same as the subject of its matrix clause, so that a conjunct participle would have been possible from a syntactical point of view.[32] Apart from the fact that the genitive absolute forms an independent information unit to the matrix clause as a whole, rather than to its subject alone, there is also the fact that its matrix clause (*μή τι καὶ πάθω ὑπὸ σοῦ*) presents a situation that is focalized by the friends (*οἱ … φίλοι*) of Araspas, whereas the situation presented in the genitive absolute is focalized by Cyrus (*σοῦ*); this analysis is substantiated by the fact that the genitive absolute is headed by *ὡς*. This provides an additional reason, not to say the decisive factor, for the choice of a genitive absolute here.

[33] *Anabasis* 1.4.11-13
*ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας πέντε. καὶ Κῦρος μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἡ ὁδὸς ἔσοιτο πρὸς βασιλέα μέγαν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα· καὶ κελεύει αὐτοὺς λέγειν ταῦτα τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ ἀναπείθειν ἕπεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ποιήσαντες ἐκκλησίαν ἀπήγγελλον ταῦτα· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐχαλέπαινον τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, καὶ ἔφασαν αὐτοὺς πάλαι ταῦτ᾽ εἰδότας κρύπτειν, καὶ οὐκ ἔφασαν ἰέναι, ἐὰν μή τις αὐτοῖς χρήματα διδῷ, ὥσπερ* ***τοῖς προτέροις μετὰ Κύρου ἀναβᾶσι*** *παρὰ τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Κύρου,* ***καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐπὶ μάχην ἰόντων, ἀλλὰ καλοῦντος τοῦ πατρὸς Κῦρον****. ταῦτα οἱ στρατηγοὶ Κύρῳ ἀπήγγελλον·*

[32] Note that this is one of the instances meant by Smyth, quoted above: "Exceptionally, the subject of the genitive absolute is the same as that of the main clause. The effect of this irregular construction is to emphasize the idea contained in the genitive absolute".

> There he remained five days. And Cyrus summoned the generals of the Greeks and told them that the march was to be to Babylon, against the Great King; and he directed them to explain this to the soldiers and try to persuade them to follow. The generals called an assembly and made this announcement; and the soldiers were angry with the generals, and said that they had known about this for a long time, but had been keeping it from the troops; furthermore, they refused to go on unless they were given money, as were **the men who made the journey with Cyrus before**, on the way to Cyrus' father; <they had received the donation,> **even though they marched, not to battle, but merely because Cyrus' father summoned him**. All these things the generals reported back to Cyrus.

Two things are important with respect to the preference of an absolute construction to a conjunct participle (*ἰοῦσι). Firstly, the genitive absolute consists of two parts, connected by an οὐκ … ἀλλά-construction. Although it is possible to connect a conjunct participle and a genitive absolute that are on a par by means of a particle combination,[33] this would seem impossible in this particular instance. The nominal constituent to which the first member of the pair would have to be joined is not the dative available in the leading clause (αὐτοῖς), but the dative of the comparative clause (τοῖς προτέροις μετὰ Κύρου ἀναβᾶσι); the latter is, as part of a comparison, too strongly integrated into its clause as to carry the information to be attached. Further—and this is the second factor that should be taken into account—the content of the genitive absolute adds weight to the the position taken by the soldiers (οὐκ ἔφασαν ἰέναι, ἐὰν μή τις αὐτοῖς χρήματα διδῷ), rather than providing additional information about the men who made the journey before. The combination of genitives absolute is headed by the expression καὶ ταῦτα: '*and that too*', which underscores its status as

[33] Cf. the following parallel passages: *Anabasis* 3.1.2: ὥστε εὔδηλον ἦν ὅτι **νικῶντες μὲν** οὐδένα ἂν κατακάνοιεν, **ἡττηθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν** οὐδεὶς ἂν λειφθείη ('so that it was quite clear that **if they should be victorious**, they could not kill anyone, while **if they should be defeated**, not one of them would be left alive'), and *Anabasis* 2.4.6: (speech): ὥστε **νικῶντες μὲν** τίνα ἂν ἀποκτείναιμεν; **ἡττωμένων δὲ** οὐδένα οἷόν τε σωθῆναι ('**if we are victorious**, whom could we kill? And **if we are defeated**, not one of us can be saved'). Especially on the basis of the second example, where the anaphoric pronoun αὐτῶν is left unexpressed, I do not consider the participles to be used attributively.

reporting a further consideration to be added for rhetorical purposes to the preceding comparison as a whole.[34]

Finally, an example from the *Memorabilia* is mentioned by Schwyzer in a footnote (*ibid.*: 104): "Unberücksichtigt sind im Vorangehenden Stellen mit gen. abs. neben absolut gebrauchtem Verb, das an sich Dat. hat, z.B. *μου ἐπιχειροῦντος φροντίσαι τῆς πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς ἀπολογίας ἠναντιώθη τὸ δαιμόνιον* Xen. comm. IV 8, 5; mehr Beispiele bei KÜHNER a.a. O. 111 Anm."

This is the passage in full:

> [34] *Memorabilia* 4.8.4-6
> *λέξω δὲ καὶ ἃ Ἑρμογένους τοῦ Ἱππονίκου ἤκουσα περὶ αὐτοῦ. ἔφη γάρ, ἤδη Μελήτου γεγραμμένου αὐτὸν τὴν γραφήν, αὐτὸς ἀκούων αὐτοῦ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ τῆς δίκης διαλεγομένου λέγειν αὐτῷ ὡς χρὴ σκοπεῖν ὅ τι ἀπολογήσεται. τὸν δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἰπεῖν· Οὐ γὰρ δοκῶ σοι τοῦτο μελετῶν διαβεβιωκέναι; ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἤρετο ὅπως, εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιῶν διαγεγένηται ἢ διασκοπῶν μὲν τά τε δίκαια καὶ τὰ ἄδικα, πράττων δὲ τὰ δίκαια καὶ τῶν ἀδίκων ἀπεχόμενος, ἥνπερ νομίζοι καλλίστην μελέτην ἀπολογίας εἶναι. αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν εἰπεῖν· Οὐχ ὁρᾷς, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὅτι οἱ Ἀθήνησι δικασταὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἤδη μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας λόγῳ παραχθέντες ἀπέκτειναν, πολλοὺς δὲ ἀδικοῦντας ἀπέλυσαν; Ἀλλὰ νὴ τὸν Δία, φάναι αὐτόν, ὦ Ἑρμόγενες,* ***ἤδη μου ἐπιχειροῦντος φροντίσαι τῆς πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς ἀπολογίας ἠναντιώθη*** *τὸ δαιμόνιον. καὶ αὐτὸς εἰπεῖν· Θαυμαστὰ λέγεις. τὸν δέ, Θαυμάζεις, φάναι, εἰ τῷ θεῷ δοκεῖ βέλτιον εἶναι ἐμὲ τελευτᾶν τὸν βίον ἤδη; οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅτι μέχρι μὲν τοῦδε τοῦ χρόνου ἐγὼ οὐδενὶ ἀνθρώπων ὑφείμην ἂν οὔτε βέλτιον οὔθ' ἥδιον ἐμαυτοῦ βεβιωκέναι;*
>
> I will repeat what Hermogenes, son of Hipponicus, told me about him. "Meletus had actually formulated his indictment", he said. "Socrates talked freely in my presence, but made no reference to the case. I told him that he ought to be thinking about his defence. His first remark was, 'Don't you think that I have been preparing for it all my life?' Then I asked him how, and he said that he had been constantly occupied in the consideration of right and wrong, and in doing what was right and avoiding what was wrong, which he regarded as the best preparation for a defence. Then I said, 'Don't you see, Socrates, that the juries in our courts are apt to be misled by argument, so that they often put the innocent to death, and acquit the guilty?' 'Ah, yes, Hermogenes', he answered, 'but **I actually did try to think out my**

[34] Schwyzer notes (ibid.: 103): "Die ans Ende gestellten illegitimen genitivi absoluti sind gelegentlich durch eine besondere Einführung als «Schleppe» gezeichnet".

> **defence to the jury** ... The only thing is that the deity **resisted**'. 'Strange words', said I; and he, 'Do you think it strange, if it seems better to God that I should die now? Don't you see that to this day I never would acknowledge that any man had lived a better or a pleasanter life than I? ..."

Here, the deity did not resist Socrates' *undertaking the attempt* (*μου ἐπιχειροῦντος*) of thinking out his defence to the jury, but to the idea itself of defending himself at all, as appears from Socrates' reply to Hermogenes (*τὸν δέ, Θαυμάζεις, φάναι, εἰ τῷ θεῷ δοκεῖ βέλτιον εἶναι ἐμὲ τελευτᾶν τὸν βίον ἤδη;*). Therefore, the information that Socrates did try to think out his defense is syntactically detached from the matrix clause, in order that the two information units are presented separately. This, for that matter, creates a moment of (albeit slight) discontinuity in the way the subsequent information units are processed, which, in this context, creates a certain tension. In itself, the fact that a genitive absolute can even combine with a matrix clause whose finite verb usually governs a dative, provides a very strong sign indeed that the genitive absolute may be used for pragmatic reasons in information processing.

### 2.3 *Summary and Conclusion*

Conjunct participles and genitive absolute constructions constitute two different, and well-distinguished, grammatical classes. When the participle can be joined with a constituent that performs a syntactic function in the matrix clause, we speak of a conjunct participle; when, on the other hand, the participle cannot be joined with a constituent of the matrix clause, the participial clause is said to be 'absolute', and as such is altogether outside the main construction.

Extant Greek shows a relatively minor, but still considerable number of instances in which the genitive absolute is used while the participle could have been joined with a constituent performing a syntactic function in the matrix clause. In these instances, the same referent is mentioned twice in one sentence: the one time through the genitive as the subject of the absolute construction, the other through one of the other cases fitting the matrix clause. More often than not the pronoun *αὐτός* or *οὗτος* fills one of these slots. The genitive absolute may be preposed or postposed.

Understandably, such instances are described as 'irregular' in our sentence-based grammars. The discourse-analytical approach to examples from the works of Xenophon as presented in Section 2 has shown that the use of a genitive absolute 'instead of' a conjunct participle is to be understood from the syntax of text grammar, from which point of view the usage of such genitive absolute is quite understandable.

The genitive absolute has the advantage over a conjunct participle of typically having its own (expressed) subject. As it has its own subject and verbal constituent, this clause type is desententialized to a lesser degree than a conjunct participle, and therewith offers the speaker the opportunity to present a piece of information without interfering with the construction of the sentence as a whole. By these features, the genitive is particularly suitable for carrying information in the case of discourse complexity. The genitive absolute, building a syntactically independent information unit, occurs 'instead of' a conjunct participle when the 'processing load' of a clause combination is heavy, and the conjunct participle is a too strongly desententialized construction to be used, especially in the oblique cases.

A case in point is provided by those passages that are complex with regard to the distribution of discourse topics. A referent ('topic') is expressed as the subject of the preposed genitive absolute and then referred back to by means of the pronoun *αὐτός* or *οὗτος* in the appropriate case when this referent:

is about to become an active discourse participant ([23] - [24]; [28])

is just a minor participant who needs to be introduced ([22]; [25])

has disappeared from view and needs to be re-introduced ([26])

Alternatively, when the sentence-based demand of case-agreement is suspended because a topic needs to be continued across a discourse boundary, the pronoun *αὐτός* fills the subject slot of the genitive absolute ([29]; [31]).

The discussion of the different clause types that are central to Section 2, as elsewhere in this book, has shown that there are good grounds to use text grammar for the description of the different clause types in Ancient Greek.

CHAPTER SIX

# CONCLUSION

Although the grammar of Ancient Greek may have been well described as a result of scholarly efforts, which were initiated by Ancient grammarians and boosted in the late nineteenth century and beyond, there are still features that have been described less convincingly than is desirable. This applies to syntactic phenomena in particular. In part, this is a corollary of the fact that the Ancient Greek language has been described so thoroughly, to the extent that descriptions offered by standard grammars and reference books are still widely in use, while new views and insights tend to take more time to replace old-fashioned ones than is due.

One of the features to which this particularly applies is clause combining in narrative discourse. This book attempts to contribute to the understanding of the distribution of participial clauses (conjunct participles and genitives absolute) and subclauses (especially ἐπεί-, ἐπειδή-, and ὡς-clauses) using the linguistic method of Discourse Analysis.

Chapter 1 presents the *status quaestionis*: although the difference between the clause types under consideration has been recognized in the subject literature, it has been described rather unconvincingly, due to the sentence-based approach adopted by the authors of the standard grammars. Basing themselves on intuition, they claim that subclauses are preferred to participial clauses if the speaker/narrator wishes to emphasize the content of the embedded predication. Moreover, some subject literature is primarily concerned with the 'temporal' relation of the embedded predication to its matrix clause, taking the tense/aspect of the subordinate verbal constituent as the basis for this alleged relation. While such a temporal relation may, and usually does, exist, as temporal organization is one of the characteristics of narrative discourse, examples have shown that this relation is not necessarily coded by grammar, but resides in the context and/or situation—the kind of actions involved, the order in which events are presented—, and the reader/hearer's knowledge of

the world. The traditional, sentence-based approach fails to describe the distribution of the different clause types satisfactorily. Its importance notwithstanding, we should profit from text grammar, which was developed in cross-linguistic studies with promising results over roughly the last thirty years, but has only relatively recently begun to bear fruit in the description of Ancient Greek.

This book focusses on the organization of texts and the contribution of subclauses and participles to text coherence. As a result of this text grammar-oriented approach, a more diversified image of the distribution of subclauses, genitive absolute constructions and participial clauses emerges. We should distinguish, among subclauses, between clauses headed by the type of semantically specific relators that is found generally in languages of the world and those headed by the language-specific semantically non-specific relator (ἐπεί, ἐπειδή, and ὡς)—the latter forming the real 'alternative' for a participial clause. We should also try and describe the difference in effect of the different embedded predications on the reader/hearer's comprehension of the text in which they occur. While subclauses headed by the semantically specific ('causal') relators διότι or by ὅτι are used to illuminate the informational content of another clause and semantically specific relators such as ἡνίκα, ὅτε, and ἐν ᾧ are used to provide the reader/hearer with a time anchor for the Real World situation described in the matrix clause, the relators ἐπεί, ἐπειδή, and ὡς are semantically non-specific and subclauses headed by these relators can therefore be used to a greater variety of ends than just relating the content of the subclause to the content of the matrix clause. They present a factual statement about the Real World which the reader/hearer needs for a successful comprehension of the discourse that is in the process of being organized. Semantically non-specific relators will typically be used when the point of view from which the events are relayed is involved, or when a Real World situation has to be related to the speaker's constitution of the text. They are used especially when the subclause occupies the sentence-initial position and introduces a new phase in an on-going description of the Real World, predictably at a thematic break. Conversely, the participial clause that occupies the sentence-initial position, especially when the conjunct participle or genitive absolute is resumptive or continuative, makes for textual coherence at points where a small-scale textual boundary is articulated within an otherwise continuous

thematic whole. Postposed 'causal' ἐπεί- and ἐπειδή-clauses were distinguished from postposed participial clauses that receive a 'causal' interpretation in that the former occur predominantly in non-narrative episodes (speech situations), where they are used as motivating clauses.

During the investigation of the distribution of subclauses and participial clauses in Xenophon's *Hellenica* and *Anabasis*, with additional examples from the *Agesilaus*, the *Cyropaedia* and other texts by Xenophon, it turned out to be useful to link the degree of desententialization of the clause, which corresponds to the degree of linguistic coding of the allegedly alternative types, to their function in discourse. With an eye on the specific characteristics of—often—a larger stretch of context, more factors that influence the distribution of preposed subclauses and participles, as well as the usage of genitives absolute 'instead of' a conjunct participle could be mapped, and a more satisfactory account of clause combining in Ancient Greek could be offered than that of the traditional grammarians who attempted to describe differences between clause types, in sentence level semantic terms, as differences in the degree of 'emphasis' that is put on the content of the clause.

Throughout this book, two levels relevant to the study of narratives were distinguished: the *level of the Real World construction* and the *level of text articulation*. Furthermore, three main categories of factors influencing the choice between different clause types were proposed: *presentation of Real World relations*, *text articulation*, and *information processing*.

Chapter 2 consists of a selection of six parallel passages from the works of Xenophon, which I have called 'near-minimal pairs'. They are 'near-minimal' in that they describe the exact same Real World events in different texts (the *Hellenica* and the *Agesilaus*) or the same type of events according to a comparable scheme (such as the description of a banquet-scene in the *Anabasis* and the *Cyropaedia*), or present comparable expressions or embedded predications with a comparable content in differently constituted texts. In the case of Ancient Greek, where native speakers can obviously not be consulted, this procedure can get one as close as possible to a native speaker's actual usage of the devices studied.

On the basis of the selection of examples in this Chapter the usage of different clause types (independent main clauses, subclauses, and participial clauses, both conjunct and absolute participles) was found

to vary according to both the *context* and the *text type* in which they are used. It appeared from the observations and analyses in comparable contexts that events that are most salient in view of the constitution of a specific discourse episode will generally be linguistically coded in a (finite) independent clause. Subclauses and participial clauses are used to present events that are less central to the narrative backbone, although they may be, and indeed often are, used to present events belonging to the narrative assertion. This applies to embedded predications with aorist verbal constituents in particular, but not solely: a certain verbal action may be connected to other actions in the context by means of a present stem while a narrative event is being described. Conversely, the text-organizational function of an embedded predication may require it to be expressed in the aorist while, strictly speaking, it does not propel narrative time forward. Resumptive embedded predications provide a case in point. The discussion of different clause types and clause combinations in the near-minimal pairs confirmed the hypothesis introduced in Chapter 1 that the type of clause used in clause combining is influenced by factors concerning the presentation of Real World relations, text articulation and/or information processing (including hierarchy of information and topic management). These factors turned out, either independently of one another or in combination, to be operative on the choice among alternative clause types in their respective contexts, and were taken as the basis for further investigation as developed in the next Chapters.

The presentation of Real World relations was discussed in Chapter 3. In principle, a speaker/narrator is free to present a Real World situation any way he wants; he will make this decision according to his communicative aims in the context in which Real World happenings are to be presented. This is, for that matter, the reason for my preference for the term *presentation*—instead of, for instance, the often found notion of *re*presentation: in the end, any representation of Real World happenings in the form of text is presentation; if we compare Rembrandt's painting of his son Titus and Picasso's of his son Paulo, we might be tempted to conclude that Rembrandt's painting offers a *more natural representation of a boy*, but both painters, in cognitively arranging Real World experience and selecting personal impressions while leaving others aside, finally decide on how their sons are *presented* to the spectator.

If the speaker/narrator wishes to indicate a relation in the (non-linguistic) Real World between the content of the embedded predication and the content of its matrix clause, he will present this relation by using a relator. In Ancient Greek, relators come in various shapes, with different functions. Unlike modern western languages, Ancient Greek offers the opportunity to combine a subclause and a main clause without specifying the relation in particular by a set of *semantically non-specific* relators: ἐπεί, ἐπειδή, and ὡς. This poses difficulties in translation, as the lack of such semantically non-specific relators in modern western languages causes the translator to be more specific than the Greek language is; at the same time, this explains the discussion whether a given ἐπεί, ἐπειδή, or ὡς is 'temporal' or 'causal' (or in the case of ἐπεί even 'concessive'), and the tendency to 'identify' an alleged 'temporal' relation on the basis of the tense/aspect of the subordinate verbal constituent. In fact, this relation is not at all expressed. Moreover, the relators ἐπεί, ἐπειδή, and ὡς are often used in contexts where specificity about a certain semantic relation is inexpedient, or even impossible. They are used to combine declarative and non-declarative clauses, to create a shift of point of view across sentences, and, probably the situation most frequently found in extant Greek texts, to make a certain situation as a whole the frame of reference for the content of a clause (or discourse episode), rather than to indicate one single relation. If, however, the speaker/narrator wishes to indicate a single relation (either temporal or 'causal'), other relators are available: the main ones are ὅτε, ἡνίκα, and ἐν ᾧ for temporal relations, and ὅτι and διότι for 'causal' relations.

Text articulation was the subject of Chapter 4. Apart from the presence or absence of relators, another formal characteristic of the embedded predications under consideration should be observed; they are either finite (subclauses) or non-finite (conjunct participles and genitives absolute). A continuum of *desententialization* was set up based on the formal characteristics of embedded predications. The subclause, the genitive absolute, and the conjunct participle, in that order, show increasing degrees of desententialization. The differences in *form* were then related to the difference in *function* of preposed, especially sentence-initially placed, subclauses, genitives absolute and participial clauses. The upshot of this approach is that we can now understand their respective contribution to the constitution of

discourse episodes (text articulation). The linguistic device by which a point of segmentation is marked is determined by the kind of segmentation involved, as the articulation of the text follows on the (re-)construction and presentation of Real World events. When the discourse is discontinuous to a fairly high degree with respect to referents, time, place, or action-event sequence, the articulation of the text will predictably show a high degree of linguistic coding; the heavier the boundary pertaining to the thematic organization of the Real World in the form of narrative text, the heavier the linguistic coding the text receives will be, and *vice versa*. The subclause, then, showing the most heavy linguistic coding, tends to be used at points of high thematic discontinuity, and the conjunct participle, which is the most strongly desententialized clause type and therefore shows the least heavy linguistic coding, is used when the text is segmented within an on-going thematic structure. The genitive absolute takes the intermediate position; it offers the speaker an opportunity to present information that contributes to a correct understanding of the message without interfering with the construction of the sentence as a whole. Therefore, it is preferably used by the speaker as a minimally necessary linguistic device for securing textual coherence at points where two textual units are segmented (and/or linked).

In the case of postposed 'causal' clauses, the degree of linguistic coding of the clause corresponds to its contribution to text comprehension. Postposed 'causal' ἐπεί- and ἐπειδή-clauses are used to motivate a preceding utterance, action or position that calls for substantiation in its linguistic or non-linguistic context. Postposed participles that receive a 'causal' interpretation just provide 'additional' information, without which the preceding utterance would still remain comprehensible. This was described in Chapter 5, Section 1, which was devoted to aspects of information processing.

Section 2 of Chapter 5 discussed the usage of genitive absolute constructions where, from the point of view of sentence-syntax, a conjunct participle would have been an alternative option. Here, a pragmatic approach to the flow of information in on-going discourse, with the use of views on the syntax of text grammar outlined in the foregoing Chapters, is adopted in a discussion of every single instance mentioned in an article by Schwyzer dating as far back as 1942, and serving here as an exponent of the now out-dated sentence-based approach. From the viewpoint of text grammar, the usage of such

genitive absolute constructions is quite understandable. The relatively less strongly desententialized genitive absolute has the advantage over a conjunct participle of typically having its own (expressed) subject. It can build a syntactically independent information unit, and is therefore the clause type to use in the case of discourse complexity, when the 'processing load' of a clause combination is heavy and the conjunct participle is a too strongly desententialized construction to be used, especially in the oblique cases. Further, the genitive absolute is found 'instead of' a conjunct participle when there is need of 'topic management'. Participants who perform a syntactic function in the matrix clause are nonetheless referred to as the subject of a genitive absolute both when the discourse requires them to be overtly (re-)introduced and when they need to be continued across a discourse boundary.

The discussion brings to light that a text grammar for Ancient Greek is indispensable for the understanding and description of the syntactical function of linguistic features such as embedded predications and their contribution to text production and text comprehension. I have not, however, presented the findings of this book in a matrix, for even if texts are seen not as a sequence of sentences, but as coherent discourse, a description of syntactic phenomena will always have to take into account that the one factor cannot be considered without the other. This is not a set-back—it is only natural when the object of research is language, which causes one to describe regularities which will have to be reconsidered in each individual context. At the same time, the existence of semantically non-specific relators in Ancient Greek offers an interesting opportunity for cross-linguistic study on the subject as well as an explanation of the inadequate description in the literature thus far.

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# INDEX OF LINGUISTIC TERMS

| | |
|---|---|
| Back-reference | Instance where an item in the preceding discourse is evoked |
| Clause type | The grammatical class a certain clause belongs to:<br>an independent finite clause (main clause)<br>a dependent finite clause (subclause)<br>a dependent non-finite clause:<br>– inflection marking (infinitive)<br>+ inflection marking participle agreeing in the genitive with its own subject (genitive absolute)<br>+ inflection marking participle showing case-agreement with a constituent of its matrix clause (conjunct participle) |
| Closure-marking | High density of linguistic marking (anaphoric deictic elements, particle clusters) often co-occurring with content-oriented marking of the terminus of a narritive episode, e.g., when a participant is taken off the stage, or a lapse of time or relocation is indicated |
| Complementation-marking *μέν* … δέ | Instance of text articulation where in a clause combination co-ordinated by *μέν* … δέ, the δέ-member is anticipated by the preceding *μέν*; the particle δέ does not mark the onset of a new DU (cf. Transition-marking *μέν* … δέ) |
| Contextually prepared information | A piece of information that is inferrable from other entities in the preceding discourse or the speech situation |

| | |
|---|---|
| Continuative clause | A clause containing contextually prepared information and continuing an event sequence already set in motion |
| Desententialization | The reduction process in which a clause loses certain properties and is transformed into a category of a lower syntactic level; in the case of the Ancient Greek clause types under consideration the continuum of desententialization consist of an independent clause → a subclause → a genitive absolute → a conjunct participle, in that order |
| Development Unit (DU)[1] | One or more sentences of text, marked by the speaker as the next phase in the development of the discourse by ('solitary') δέ at its onset. Within such a unit, sentences may be closely connected to the initial sentence by means of the particle καί or 'asyndeton' |
| Discourse perspective | The cognitive view, on the part of both the speaker and his audience, of the speaker's aims and objectives in producing a given piece of discourse |
| Discourse turbulence | The occurrence of a thematic break defined in terms of discontinuity of participants, time, place and/or action-sequence, usually marked by a high degree of linguistic coding |
| Embedded predication | A syntactically dependent clause such as a subclause, a genitive absolute or a conjunct participial clause |
| Entirely given information | A piece of information already processed in the preceding discourse or present in the speech situation |
| Entirely new information | A piece of information not yet processed in the preceding discourse or not present in the speech situation |

[1] The term Development Unit was first coined by Levinsohn (1987: 83-85, and 179); his definition runs: "one ore more sentences of narrative, introduced by a developmental conjunction (e.g., *de*) and associated by *kai* or *te*, which presents a new development in the story".

| | |
|---|---|
| Expectancy chain | A series of two or more verbal actions the first of which gives rise to a prediction about the action(s) to follow on the basis of one's knowledge of the world |
| Head-head linkage | The discourse-level strategy found in languages of the world consisting of a back-reference at the onset of a new DU to the onset of the preceding DU |
| Lexical overlap | Verbal repetition of a constituent from the preceding discourse |
| Matrix clause | The superordinate clause on which an embedded predication is dependent. An embedded predication may be dependent on (part of) a main clause or another embedded predication |
| Progressive clause | A clause containing entirely new information and moving the discourse forward to a new point |
| Proposition | The semantic correlate of a (possibly desententialized) clause[2] |
| Propositional overlap | Repetition of an idea expressed in the preceding discourse |
| Reciprocal coupling | An event sequence in which, e.g., speaker A says something to B, to be followed by the statement 'B hears A', in which case the actions 'say' and 'hear' are reciprocals[3] |
| Resumptive clause | A clause that by restatement or summary recapitulates information already processed in the discourse |
| Segmentation | The linguistic reflection of the speaker's plan to organize his discourse in phases |
| Sentence type | The class a certain clause belongs to according to its speech act:<br>a declarative clause<br>an interrogative clause<br>a directive clause |

[2] Definition by Lehmann (1988: 182).
[3] Described as such by Thompson & Longacre (1985: 213).

| | |
|---|---|
| Small-scale segmentation | Minimal linguistic articulation of a boundary between two adjacent DU's. Usually the only linguistic marking at such points is the occurrence of the particle δέ, but other particles may be used |
| Summary-head linkage | The discourse-level strategy found in languages of the world consisting of summarizing (part of) a DU at the onset of the next DU |
| Tail-head linkage | The discourse-level strategy found in languages of the world consisting of repeating (part of) the last fragment of a DU at the onset of the next DU |
| Transition-marking *μέν* ... δέ | Instance of text articulation where in a clause combination co-ordinated by *μέν* ... δέ, the particle δέ does mark the onset of a new DU (cf. Complementation-marking *μέν* ... δέ) |

# GENERAL INDEX


afterthought, 248
agreement, 81-82, 151-52, 222-23, 232, 245, 253
anacoluthon, 233, 236
anaphoric grounding, 157
anteriority, 4-5, 90
aspect, 3-9, 22-23, 138, 254

back-reference, 76, 139, 145, 163, 168, 177-78, 189
behavioral discourse, 47
boundary, 9, 15-17, 22, 30, 58-59, 69, 71-72, 79, 82, 111, 139, 147-48, 158, 159n17, 163, 165, 169, 171, 173, 178n27, 180, 183n31, 186, 191, 194, 196, 198-200, 245, 247, 253, 255
build up unit (BU), 139-40, 174

cataphoric grounding, 189
cataphoric temporal succession, 176
causal relations, 13, 22, 85-89, 258
clause chaining participle, 32-33
closure, 20, 31, 34, 57, 64, 71, 193, 235
coherence link, 157
coherence strand, 138, 153-54, 169, 188, 191-92
coincident use, 50n25
communicative mode, 146
complementation marking *μέν* … *δέ*, 40
concessive-adversative value of *ἐπεί*, 115n23
contextually prepared information, 17-20, 158, 173-74
continuative clause, 146n7, 157, 159n17, 174n25, 194-95, 200, 255
continuity/discontinuity, 7-8, 15, 30-31, 51, 61, 71, 82-83, 138-39, 153-200, 224-25, 230, 247, 252, 259

desententialization, 149-53, 155, 199-200, 220, 222, 253, 256, 258, 260
development unit (DU), 137, 140
discourse analysis, 1, 3, 11, 21, 254
discourse complexity, 223, 231, 238, 253
discourse connectedness, 160
discourse peak, 147
discourse perspective, 68
discourse pragmatics, 77
discourse turbulence, 61, 165, 175, 222
distributive actions, 47n21
durative action, 161

embedded paragraph (EP), 140, 146, 160
emphasis, 2, 78, 221, 256
entirely given information, 17, 19-20, 185
entirely new information, 17, 20, 158
erzählte Zeit, 51
Erzählzeit, 51
event, 9-12
expectancy chain, 59, 139, 174
expository paragraph, 146

focalization, 43, 49, 213, 249
focus function, 47n21, 233
frame of reference, 8, 116, 162, 179, 247, 258

genitive absolute vs. conjunct participle, 221-53
given information, 17

head-head linkage, 165
hierarchy, 32-33, 35-37, 52, 84, 162, 257
historical present, 6, 105, 168, 182n30, 186

infinitival clause, 152
information flow, 22, 139, 201, 231-32, 259
information processing, 13, 17-21, 36, 84, 201-53, 256-57

information status, 19-20, 37, 47n21, 57, 144, 158, 159n17, 183n31, 189

level of text articulation, 11, 15, 32, 47, 58, 72, 144, 154, 194-95, 198, 256
level of the Real World construction, 11, 14-16, 58, 67, 72, 154, 177, 194, 196, 198, 256
lexical overlap, 139, 167, 189, 198, 225, 230

main information, 17, 20
mode of discourse, 146, 160
motivating clause, 205-06, 209-11, 220, 256, 259

narrative time, 11-12, 68, 93, 97, 99, 105, 107, 125, 146, 160, 171, 177, 179, 191, 198, 225, 230, 247, 257
near-minimal pair, 21, 24-84, 256-57
neuter plural filling subject slot, 151-52
new information, 17

paragraph, 139, 146-47, 186
participant tracking, 41, 61, 81, 133n40, 147, 223
point of view, 41, 43, 49, 107, 119, 121, 123-25, 176, 195, 214, 220, 258
posteriority, 4
postposed embedded predications receiving a 'causal' interpretation, 201-21
presentation of Real World relations, 13-15, 17, 42, 84-136, 256-57
progressive clause, 158, 163, 174n25, 182, 183n31, 191, 195-96
propositional overlap, 32, 139, 186
processing load, 49, 223, 253
punctual action, 143-44, 186

question-and-answer paragraph, 183

reality-level, 11
recapitulation, 58, 168-69
reciprocal coupling, 69, 139-40, 145, 153, 189, 191
representation, 257
restatement, 20, 37, 145, 162, 167, 179, 198
resumptive clause, 19, 31, 37, 162-63, 166, 168, 182n30, 198, 200, 247, 255, 257
rules vs. regularities, 21

script-predictable information, 189
segmentation, 7, 9, 16, 40, 52, 68, 71, 137-200, 230, 259
semantically non-specific relations, 4-5, 13-14, 17, 22, 85, 108-29, 134-36, 176, 199, 255, 258, 260
semantically specific relations, 12-14, 16, 21, 85-112, 129-36, 255, 258
sentence type, 122, 207, 258
sequence paragraph (SP), 140, 163, 168, 186n35
simultaneity, 4, 8, 90
slippage, 236n20, 238
solitary δέ, 139, 148
spatial setting, 60-61, 71, 129
specific parts of the day or year filling subject slot of a subclause, 93-96
story of Mania, 140-48
storytelling mode, 146
subject continuity, 80
subsidiary information, 17, 20, 42
summary, 20, 37, 145
summary-head linkage, 139

tail-head linkage, 139, 179, 186
temporal relations, 11-14, 89-112, 254, 258
temporal subclauses, 3-9
terminative action, 198
text articulation, 13, 15-17, 19-20, 22, 24-25, 32, 46, 71, 84, 137-200, 256-58
text comprehension, 17, 19, 135, 220, 255, 260
text grammar, 1, 3, 22, 200, 222, 231, 233-53, 255, 259-60
text type, 46, 50, 52, 84, 257
texture, 37, 160
thematic unit, 16, 19, 32, 65, 68-69, 137, 139, 160, 163-78, 182, 194
thematic coherence, 159-63
topic management, 62, 78-79, 81-82, 84, 223, 231, 236, 238, 247, 257, 260
topic switch, 31, 59, 80, 82, 145, 189, 191, 231
transition marking *μέν* … δέ, 57, 71

# INDEX LOCORUM


Xenophon

*Agesilaus*

| | |
|---|---|
| 1.6 | 46n16, n17 |
| 1.7-10 | 112 |
| 1.9 | 47n18 |
| 1.10 | 46n16 |
| 1.19-25 | 43 |
| 1.25 | 94n5, n6 |
| 1.38 | 46n16 |
| | 165n20 |
| 1.38-2.2 | 53 |
| 2.2 | 150 |
| 2.9-11 | 96 |
| 2.13-14 | 122 |
| 2.15 | 25, 28 |
| 2.23 | 6 |
| 2.25 | 114n20 |
| 3.1 | 46n16 |

*Anabasis*

| | |
|---|---|
| 1.1.1-3 | 164 |
| 1.1.4 | 214 |
| 1.1.7 | 33n7 |
| 1.2.1 | 124n31 |
| 1.2.21 | 212 |
| 1.3.9 | 205 |
| 1.3.20 | 152n14 |
| 1.4.2 | 101 |
| 1.4.11-13 | 249 |
| 1.5.9 | 215 |
| 1.6.5-7 | 119 |
| 1.6.7-8 | 183 |
| 1.6.10-11 | 118 |
| 1.7.18-19 | 109 |
| 1.8.1 | 106, 180n29 |
| 1.8.8 | 93n4, 106 |
| 1.8.17 | 106 |
| 1.8.26-27 | 197 |
| 1.8.28-29 | 202 |
| 1.9.24 | 204 |
| 1.10.9-10 | 99 |
| 1.10.15-16 | 103 |
| 2.1.1 | 29 |
| 2.2.13 | 95n8 |
| 2.2.14-15 | 86 |
| 2.3.9 | 124n31 |
| 2.4.6 | 250n33 |
| 2.4.24 | 95n9 |
| 2.5.15-24 | 74 |
| 2.6.2-4 | 245 |
| 2.6.20 | 91 |
| 3.1.2 | 250n33 |
| 3.1.5-7 | 193 |
| 3.1.33-34 | 103 |
| 3.3.1 | 139n3, 179 |
| 3.3.11-13 | 116, 209 |
| 3.4.1-2 | 225 |
| 3.4.34 | 93n4, 94n7 |
| 3.4.49 | 112 |
| 3.5.2 | 93n4 |
| 3.5.3-7 | 175 |
| 4.1.13 | 152n14 |
| 4.2.7 | 95n8 |
| 4.3.2 | 26 |
| 4.3.13-16 | 188 |
| 4.5.14 | 31n5 |
| 4.5.18 | 131n39 |
| 4.5.29 | 27 |
| 4.6.1 | 95n10 |
| 4.6.23 | 95n8 |
| 4.7.27 | 95n11 |
| 5.1.14-17 | 104 |
| 5.2.21-25 | 246 |
| 5.3.4-7 | 169 |
| 5.5.13-18 | 207 |
| 5.6.9 | 215 |
| 5.6.18 | 108 |
| 5.6.35-36 | 206 |
| 5.8.11 | 207n4 |
| 6.2.13-15 | 38 |
| 6.3.11-15 (18) | 72n45, 74 |
| 6.4.9 | 95n10 |

6.4.10 27
6.5.5-6 161
7.3.2 95n8
7.3.23-26 62
7.3.41 95n8

*Cyropaedia*
1.3.1 214n9
1.4.1-2 244
1.4.19-20 72
1.4.20 244n29
1.5.4-6 241
1.6.13-15 239
2.2.17 58n29
2.4.30 29
3.1.43 27
3.2.2 28
3.3.28 27
3.3.33 28
4.1.7 27
4.1.9 22n28
4.5.21 186n34
5.3.51 28
5.3.51-57 30n2
5.3.57 22n28, 30n2
5.4.19 26
5.4.43-50 72
6.1.36-38 248
6.1.37 239n22
6.3.37 28
7.2.1 27
7.2.2 22n28
7.3.1 26
7.5.40 26
8.4.12-13 62
8.4.13 65n38
8.4.21-23 69

*De Equitandi ratione*
1.1 7n12

*Hellenica*
1.1.1-2 203
1.1.9 225
1.1.25-26 179n28
1.3.1 218
1.3.7 217
1.4.1-3 224
1.4.6-7 210
1.4.12-13 197
1.5.1 151
1.6.1-2 90
1.7.30 152n14
2.1.6 100
2.1.10-12 190
2.1.27 87, 95n10
2.2.10 218
2.3.23-24 177
2.3.35-36 103
2.3.54 152n13
2.4.10-11 38
2.4.11 40n10
2.4.11-12 42n15
2.4.12 98
3.1.7 184
3.1.10-16 140-48
3.1.16 168n21
3.2.19 152n14
3.2.21 14n22
3.2.25-26 74, 231
3.3.1-4 88
3.3.4 185
3.4.2-5 171
3.4.6 133n41
3.4.9-10 72
3.4.12-15 181
3.4.15-16 43
3.4.16 94n5, n6
3.4.25 5
3.4.26 207
3.4.29-3.5.1 156
3.5.21-23 125
3.5.25-4.1.3 156
4.1.15–18 228
4.1.24 152n13
4.2.4-8 53
4.2.8 100
4.2.9-23 54n28
4.3.1-4 53
4.3.3 150
4.3.16-17 96
4.3.20-21 25, 26
4.4.5 219
4.5.1-3 130n37
4.5.3 130
4.6.12 93
4.7.7 131
4.8.1 12n15
4.8.3 101
4.8.7–9 237

| | |
|---|---|
| 5.1.13 | 211 |
| 5.1.21 | 94n8 |
| 5.2.39 | 174n26 |
| 5.3.25 | 192 |
| 5.4.9 | 94n8 |
| 5.4.47 | 94n5, n6 |
| 5.4.53-54 | 123 |
| 5.4.56-58 | 226 |
| 5.4.59 | 94n5, n6 |
| 6.1.1-3 | 81n55, 166 |
| 6.1.19 | 12n15 |
| 6.2.31 | 194 |
| 6.3.1 | 212n7 |
| 6.5.10-21 | 6n10 |
| 7.1.18 | 128 |
| 7.1.32 | 186n34 |
| 7.1.34 | 101 |
| 7.2.7 | 150 |
| 7.2.12-13 | 123 |
| 7.2.19 | 4n7 |
| 7.3.4-7.4.1 | 12n15 |
| 7.4.1 | 178n27 |
| 7.4.2-4 | 234 |
| 7.4.3-4 | 183n31 |
| 7.4.23-24 | 8 |
| 7.4.38 | 95n8 |
| 7.4.39 | 132 |

*Memorabilia*

| | |
|---|---|
| 4.8.4-6 | 251 |

*Symposium*

| | |
|---|---|
| 4.49-50 | 70 |

Other authors

Herodotus

| | |
|---|---|
| 1.186 | 105n17 |
| 2.121 γ | 58n30 |
| 3.19 | 105n17 |
| 3.74 | 105n17 |
| 3.136 | 105n17 |
| 4.95 | 105n17 |
| 4.124 | 105n17 |
| 6.97 | 105n17 |
| 6.129 | 69n42, 72n44 |

Pindar

| | |
|---|---|
| *N.* 7.31-36 | 13n20 |
| *P.* 4, 292 | 186n34 |
| *fr. 124c* (*94*) | 186n34 |

Plato

*Gorgias*

| | |
|---|---|
| 448 b11-c3 | 115n22 |
| 473 e3-4 | 115n22 |
| 474 b6-7 | 115n22 |

Sophocles

*Philoctetes*

| | |
|---|---|
| 637-638 | 186n34 |

Thucydides

| | |
|---|---|
| 2.13.9 | 102n16 |
| 2.21.1 | 102n16 |

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